United Nations S/PV.4487

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4487th meeting

Monday, 11 March 2002, 11.30 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Kolby	(Norway)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Mbayu
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mauritius	Mr. Bhuckory
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/2002/189)

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02-27936 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/2002/189)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Jordan, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Somalia and Spain, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provision of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ibrahim (Somalia) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti), Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt), Mr. Tessema (Ethiopia), Mr. Jalang'o (Kenya), Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al-Hussein (Jordan), Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) and Mr. Arias (Spain) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional National Government of Somalia.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members have before them document S/2002/189, containing the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): I welcome Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim to New York and I thank him for rescheduling his trip for an earlier date in order to be with us today.

Bulgaria fully endorses the statement to be delivered shortly by the Permanent Representative of Spain on behalf of the European Union. I shall therefore confine myself to a few brief comments.

The delegation of Bulgaria would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting open to all Members of the United Nations. It gives us an opportunity to consider the complex and alarming problems in Somalia.

The Secretary-General's report sheds light on the overall situation in the country, which remains very fragile. Somalia has lacked effective national institutions for more than a decade. It is still divided by the various factions, their mutual recriminations and the violent confrontations among their militias, which continue to occur. The Arta peace and national reconciliation process finds itself at a virtual standstill.

Over the last 10 months, there have been new developments and positive signs from the Somalia peace process. Bulgaria welcomes the decision taken on 14 February by the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to convene in Kenya, without the imposition of prior conditions, a national reconciliation conference with the participation of the Transitional National Government and all other Somali parties.

We are convinced that the solution to Somalia's problems lies in the hands of the Somalis themselves. The Arta process can succeed only with the participation of all the factions. It is thus particularly important for the Security Council to give this initiative the necessary support so that all parties will take the path of dialogue and so that the national transition mechanism will be expanded. We hope that the Transitional National Government, the leaders of the political parties, the traditional chiefs and the Somali factions will put aside their differences and act together to advance the peace process.

Bulgaria supports IGAD's efforts for national reconciliation in Somalia. We would particularly like to stress the importance of consensus among the countries of that organization and the need for a unified approach to the peace process in Somalia. The resolution on Somalia adopted at the 9th IGAD Summit is therefore encouraging. It deserves the vigorous support of the international community, particularly that of the United Nations. We are therefore pleased that this meeting of the Security Council is sending to Somali society a

signal of strong support for pursuing the Arta peace process.

Bulgaria encourages discussion of the Secretary-General's proposal to create committees of friends of Somali in Nairobi and in New York. This idea is worth studying with the aim of consolidating the uniformity of the various initiatives for peace in Somalia.

In the context of the events of 11 September, the Council must attentively follow the situation in Somalia to prevent the country from becoming a refuge for members of terrorist organizations. All countries must scrupulously respect the relevant Security Council resolutions. The Transitional National Government and all other parties concerned must demonstrate their readiness to cooperate with the Counter-Terrorism Committee.

Bulgaria is deeply concerned by the spread of small arms in the region. One of the essential tasks of the consolidation process is to put an end to the supply of arms to Somalia.

We particularly want to stress the need for a constructive contribution from neighbouring countries. In that regard, the international community must consider means to enhance the effectiveness of the sanctions. As Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 751 (1992) concerning Somalia, Bulgaria sees the need to ensure full compliance with those sanctions.

We are greatly alarmed by the grave humanitarian situation in Somalia. We encourage donors to respond generously to the Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal, and we congratulate the competent United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations that are working in difficult circumstances to alleviate the suffering of the Somali people. At the same time, we urge the Somali parties to make an active contribution to the work of United Nations personnel by guaranteeing the safety of humanitarian workers and the necessary access to strategic sites.

Bulgaria agrees with the report's conclusions on security issues and stresses that the safety of personnel, especially peacekeeping personnel, is a prerequisite for effective work on the ground by the United Nations.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): I, too, would like to join you, Sir, in warmly welcoming Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, the Foreign Minister of Somalia, and to thank him for the rather comprehensive statement that he gave us in the private meeting earlier, which I found to be very helpful.

I also want to congratulate you for putting this very difficult file on the agenda of the month. You may recall that, in the final wrap-up meeting of last year, we discussed the successful files, not-so-successful files and moderately successful files. Clearly, Somalia is one of the most difficult files that the Council is faced with and, to be very candid, we do not think that we have the answers to the problems faced on this issue. We hope that, in the course of this discussion, the Council will try to find some answers.

You have asked us to be brief, so what I propose to do is to make just four points.

The first point, of course, is the obvious one, which is that the problems of Somalia can be solved only by the people of Somalia. Indeed, the Foreign Minister very approvingly quoted the Secretary-General's statement in his report of 21 February, in which he says:

> "Only Somalia's leaders can decide to end the suffering of their people and only they can decide to negotiate an end to the conflict. They need to rise above their differences and put the interests of the people of Somalia first and foremost." (*S/2002/189, para. 65*)

I think we are all agreed on that. At the same time, I think it is very helpful that Somalia has neighbours that are trying to play a helpful role. Many have commended Djibouti for the Arta process and we are now, hopefully, going to see some progress in the process initiated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. As long as the neighbours work on the principle of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and unity of Somalia, I hope that they will make a contribution to the solution of the problem of Somalia.

The second point I wish to make is, of course, about the role of the international community. Here, it may be recalled that last week, speaking in the informal consultations, I asked the question of whether or not we in the international community have decided what exactly is our role on the Somali question. Are we like the medical doctor, analysing and at the same time providing prescriptions and medicine? Are we just a pure political scientist, analysing the situation without providing any assistance? Or are we, perhaps, just a

bystander, watching what is going on without getting involved? I am not sure what the answer is to that question, but at some point it might be helpful for the international community to work out where, exactly, it stands on the Somali question.

The third point I wish to make is that, in terms of analysing or understanding what we can do, perhaps one point we may want to bear in mind is that, post-11 September, it is actually in the interest of the international community to encourage all States — and I would emphasize this point: all States — to have strong national Governments. Strong national Governments are an essential requirement in the fight against international terrorism. We hope that, wherever there is an exception, the international community will try to find the answer to it. In that sense, I think that the international community has a vested interest in trying to re-establish a strong national Government in Somalia.

My fourth and final point is, of course, that I hope, in trying to look at the Somalia question, we will not look just at various aspects of it. There is a huge humanitarian problem that, I think, has been touched upon. We also need to work out a comprehensive policy on Somalia over the long term that I hope will provide a solution to the problem. At the same time, having heard what both the Foreign Minister and the Permanent Representative of Somalia said this morning on the question of the Al-Barakaat accounts, I think it is clear that the freezing of the accounts has aggravated the humanitarian difficulties of the Somali people. I hope that we will find some way or another to unfreeze the accounts to ensure that those who, in a sense, are the honest recipients of the funds will get their funds back as quickly as possible.

Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): We would like to thank you, Sir, for convening this important meeting to consider the situation in brotherly Somalia.

We join in the welcome extended by preceding speakers to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim. We support the statement to be made by the Permanent Representative of Jordan in his capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group this month. That statement will demonstrate the support of Arab Governments for the Transitional National Government of Somalia, as stressed by the Arab Foreign Ministers meeting two days ago in Cairo.

The ongoing situation in Somalia has certainly not enjoyed any intervention by the Security Council, which would impose a major security, political, economic and humanitarian responsibility on us. We must discharge our mission as members of the Security Council, which is to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security.

During our debate on the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Somalia, we can assert that the report covers the various economic, political and security dimensions of the crisis there. The picture painted in the report is indeed a bleak one. From a security perspective, Somalia remains one of the most dangerous areas in which the United Nations is involved and active. Yet, the report does not recommend the sending of a mission to Somalia.

With respect to peace-building in Somalia, we support the Secretary-General's assertion of the importance of ensuring the security of United Nations personnel. At the same time, we must find some explanation of why the situation in Somalia has deteriorated so that we may remedy it. We feel that the report does not stress this aspect, but such an approach would help us to find a way to break the vicious cycle in that country.

We could use the successful lessons learned by United Nations missions in other African countries where civil wars and conflicts had been waged. However, in extremely dangerous security situations, the United Nations has in some cases been able to send peace-building missions that have made positive contributions to ending warfare and building peace in those countries.

A question therefore arises: Why not do the same in Somalia? Why do we not send a peace mission there? The Secretary-General's recommendations in his report are not, we feel, really adequate for addressing the situation in Somalia. There is an imperative need to formulate specific recommendations that would enable our Organization to provide greater assistance, including in the demobilization of militia members and the training of police personnel, as proposed by the Security Council in its presidential statement of 31 October 2001. This is vitally important if we are to improve the security situation in Somalia. It would also enable the Transitional National Government to make use of the humanitarian resources available to it in the army and police.

There is also an imperative need for a comprehensive approach to dealing with the situation in Somalia, one that will support peace-building and security, which are keys to development in the country. Sending a United Nations mission must not be held hostage to the wishes of a few warlords who are taking advantage of the current situation and imposing such great suffering on the people of Somalia. I assume that this is now what we in the Security Council wish to see happen.

The Arta peace process, about which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia spoke during our private meeting this morning, is a historic opportunity for the Transitional National Government. The international community has agreed that the process provided the best chance to establish lasting peace in Somalia. However, the Government inherited a war-torn country that truly needs material resources in order to rebuild its infrastructure.

One key to success for the Transitional National Government is to acquire adequate material resources to address this situation. In that context, we would emphasize the following points, which we would like to see reflected in the presidential statement to be adopted at the end of our meeting or shortly thereafter.

First, the Council would support the Transitional National Government's efforts to complete the process of national reconciliation, and would strongly condemn the warlords, who continue to hamper all peace efforts and are an obstacle on the road to national reconciliation — a road that would lead Somalia from the phase of conflict to that of peace-building.

Secondly, the Council would reaffirm the principles of the unity, independence and territorial integrity of Somalia and of non-intervention in its internal affairs, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. This point was not mentioned in the latest report of the Secretary-General.

Thirdly, the Council would consider setting up a monitoring and verification mechanism that would facilitate the work of the sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolution 751 (1992), would ensure strict compliance with the arms embargo imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter, and would study any violations of the embargo. Ambassador Tafrov, Chairman of the sanctions Committee, and the other Committee members have stressed that the Committee must work effectively, and we welcome that sentiment.

Fourthly, a Committee of Friends of Somalia is envisaged in the report, and we welcome that idea. We believe that setting up such a Committee should take into account the need to include international and regional organizations and States involved in the Somalia conflict, so that its work can be positive and constructive and can lead to national reconciliation. Conflicts among regional, national and international initiatives would thus be avoided.

Finally, the international community in general and the Security Council in particular must participate in a serious process to build peace in Somalia and to put an end to the conflict in that country, where chaos and war have prevailed for so many years. That is the only way to lift Somalia out of the vicious circle resulting from the country's lack of security and the fact that it has been largely ignored for the last decade. Such a process would send the right message to the Somali people, to subregional and regional organizations and also to donors. It would help strengthen the ongoing process of national reconciliation and thereby help support the efforts of the Transitional National Government. The League of Arab States also supports those efforts.

We look forward to the national reconciliation conference to be held at Nairobi in late April. We hope that it will be a qualitative turning point that will lead Somalia and the Transitional National Government, with the cooperation of neighbouring States, back to peace. Cooperation between Somalia and its neighbours would then ensure peace in Somalia and in neighbouring countries, while respecting the unity and territorial integrity of the country and its people.

This morning, we heard a bitter complaint from Somalia over the crisis concerning the Al-Barakaat bank. I think we must try to find a solution to that problem, because that is the only bank in Somalia — the lungs of the economy, so to speak — that could improve the financial situation in the country. Thus we must find a solution, especially in the light of the statement by the Somali Minister for Foreign Affairs that the brotherly Somali people are a peace-loving people. I think the question of a solution should be studied carefully and wisely, to ensure life, well-being and development for the Somali people. We must provide assistance, particularly taking into account the

natural disaster of the drought in Somalia and neighbouring countries.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I too should like to extend a warm welcome to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, and to thank him for the information he provided in our previous private meeting. We should also like to acknowledge your initiative, Mr. President, to convene this open meeting of the Council.

I shall limit my statement to three elements in the report of the Secretary-General, the first of which is the role to be played by the international community.

The participation of the international community in the reconciliation process in Somalia has been very important thus far. Indeed, the leadership shown by the Government of Djibouti in the Arta process was fundamental to the establishment of the Transitional National Government.

Moreover, at this moment the initiative of the heads of State of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), under the leadership of President Moi of Kenya, to hold a national reconciliation conference in mid-April, deserves our full support.

The participation of regional leaders in that Conference attests to the importance to the region of achieving a more broad-based reconciliation process, in order to guarantee greater stability in Somalia. We therefore support that initiative and hope that it will bear positive fruit.

The regional authorities already have an established role in the reconciliation process. We believe that the same should be true for the United Nations and the Security Council. The report of the Secretary-General notes that, for security reasons, it is impossible to re-establish a political office in Somalia. We take note of that consideration, but we believe that we must seek different alternatives that would give the United Nations a greater political presence on the ground, which may eventually help improve security conditions.

One option we could consider is to strengthen the role of the Security Council. Here I have in mind more regular briefings to the Council as to the situation on the ground. The Council could also create monitoring mechanisms to monitor arms embargo violations. Another initiative might be to promote an information network, through United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations that are carrying out humanitarian programmes, in order to provide more and better information and thus to get a better and more accurate picture of what is happening on the ground.

The second element involves the arms embargo. We deem alarming the information we have received as to the number of small arms that are continuing to circulate throughout the country. That traffic is proof of the continued violations of the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council through resolution 733 (1992). It is also clearly necessary to create a monitoring mechanism for these sanctions, since violations continue to occur because of the lack of detailed follow-up.

The presidential statement on small arms issued by the Council on 31 August last, under Colombia's presidency, notes the need to enhance the effectiveness of arms embargoes through the establishment of specific monitoring mechanisms. It also makes the point that cooperation must be promoted among non-governmental organizations and regional organizations in order to achieve a better application of arms embargoes.

It is our view that the Somalia sanctions Committee, chaired by the Ambassador of Bulgaria, must spearhead this process in order to ensure compliance by all States with the provisions set out by the Council. I should like to assure Ambassador Tafrov of the full cooperation of my delegation in this respect.

In that same presidential statement, the Secretary-General is asked to include in his reports analytical assessments on the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons. The sad reality is that conflicts are fuelled by trafficking in small arms, the interference of neighbouring States and the indifference of arms-exporting countries as to the destination of their products. That is why we stress that the next report of the Secretary-General should address in greater depth this issue as it affects Somalia.

The third element involves the fight against terrorism. The combat against terrorism is being waged at the international level and demands the commitment of all States. The Transitional National Government has informed us that it has adopted a series of measures to implement resolution 1373 (2001). It has asked the international community for assistance so that it can create the infrastructure necessary for ensuring full

compliance with that resolution. Our view is that this appeal must be heeded in order to avoid having Somalia, for lack of cooperation, be used as a refuge for terrorists.

The effects of the fight against terrorism have already made themselves felt in Somalia. The closing of the Al-Barakaat Group of Companies has caused a drop in family income, which has made the implementation of certain programmes more difficult. It would be desirable to establish transparent funds-transfer systems, so that the Somalis could benefit from lawful systems that have no connection with networks that finance terrorism. In this context, we support the initiatives that the United Nations Development Programme intends to carry out in that country.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate the commitment of the international community and of the Council in particular to work towards national reconciliation in Somalia and to prevent anarchy, which has held that country in its grip for so many years, from triumphing once again.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I wish to welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Somali Transitional National Government, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, to today's meeting. I should like also to congratulate the newly appointed Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Tubman, head of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia.

In accordance with the decision taken by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Summit and the IGAD Foreign Ministers Committee on Somalia, the Somali National Reconciliation Conference will be held in April in Nairobi. Preparations for the Conference are to be handled jointly by the three neighbouring countries and by the IGAD secretariat.

We welcome and support the encouraging developments that have taken place in the Somali peace process. Allow me to point out that the responsibility for national reconciliation and durable peace in Somalia lies, in the final analysis, in the hands of the Somali parties themselves. Without the participation and support of all parties in Somalia, even the best peace initiative will remain on paper — an exercise in armchair strategizing.

We endorse the Secretary-General's view that only Somalia's leaders can decide to end the suffering of their people and that only they can decide to negotiate an end to the conflict. Therefore we urge the Somali parties, in the supreme interest of national reconciliation, to demonstrate the necessary goodwill, attend the April Nairobi Conference without any preconditions and endeavour to resolve, through dialogue and negotiations, problems that are not amenable to settlement by force.

As pointed out in the report of the Secretary-General's, the Somali peace process will require not only political will on the part of the Somali political leaders and the sustained encouragement and support of Somalia's immediate neighbours and of the wider international community, but also greater unity of purpose and coordination of the initiatives of the international community. This is the only way to contribute to the establishment of a broad-based and all-inclusive Government, on the basis of the maintenance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia.

We appreciate the tremendous amount of humanitarian relief work done by the United Nations system and other organizations in very harsh conditions on the ground. We call on the Somali factions to ensure the freedom of movement and safety and security of humanitarian personnel and provide them with the necessary facilities.

Effective implementation of the arms embargo on Somalia can play a positive catalytic role in the peace process. We hope that the long-standing situation of ineffective implementation of the sanctions will soon be reversed. We will continue to support the work of the sanctions Committee, and we hope that countries and regional organizations concerned will actively cooperate with it.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): I, too, would like to warmly welcome to this Chamber the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim. I would also like to thank him for the information that he gave us during the closed meeting. Rest assured, Mr. Minister, that it is very useful to us.

The Transitional National Government, which emerged from the Arta process, deserves support. As the Secretary-General has said, it is the only viable option. It is also the best guarantee of the unity and territorial integrity of Somalia — a unity and territorial

integrity to which the Council constantly reaffirms its commitment. The new Government of Prime Minister Farah should be given every chance. We should respond to this Government's offers to cooperate in the struggle against terrorism.

A statement will be made later in the meeting by the Permanent Representative of Spain on behalf of the European Union. France fully endorses it. I will therefore limit my statement to a few brief comments.

The Security Council was first seized of the situation in Somalia in early 1992, 10 years ago. It has devoted much energy to the Somali crisis and has adopted close to 20 resolutions on the matter. These resolutions have allowed for the deployment of two peacekeeping operations, at the cost of some $2 billion, and of a multinational force of 37,000 persons.

This is no time to give up. France shares the cautious optimism of the Secretary-General. The 9th Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Summit opened up new prospects. The National Reconciliation Conference, scheduled for the second half of April in Nairobi, should confirm them, provided, however, that the Transitional National Government and all of the Somali parties participate in it without preconditions and provided also that all States of the region confirm their good will. This is one of the messages that the Council should pass on.

In the new post-11 September context, it is essential to help Somalia in order to prevent it from becoming a new Afghanistan. It should be done in cooperation with the Somalis. It should be done by limiting negative humanitarian consequences. We can only emphasize from this point of view the very grave consequences of the freeze on the assets of Al-Barakaat. The formula of a controlled lifting of the freeze of the frozen assets, proposed by the Somali authorities, should be welcomed.

What can the Council do? Several excellent courses of action have been put forward in the Secretary-General's report. The good-offices missions of Mohamed Sahnoun have certainly had a very beneficial impact, particularly on the Khartoum summit. It is necessary to pursue and intensify them. They will usefully complement the daily activities of the Secretary-General's new Representative, Mr. Winston Tubman.

The creation of two groups of friends, in Nairobi and New York, is also a step in the right direction. France would be interested in participating, alongside other countries that could help with the settlement and to contribute to the mobilization of the international community.

What else can be done? It is important, first of all, that the Council clearly reaffirms its commitment to certain principles. France unreservedly supports the preparation of a presidential statement that could be adopted this week.

Further, the means of making effective the arms embargo imposed in 1992 are being discussed by the sanctions Committee under its new Chairman, the Ambassador of Bulgaria. I will not go into the details, but the stakes are high for a country that is marked by arms proliferation. Significant disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes will also be indispensable.

Finally, the Council should stand ready to take decisive steps. France is in favour of sending a peace-building mission to Somalia as soon as the security conditions allow for one. Unfortunately, the outcome of the inter-agency mission that went to several Somali regions between 15 and 23 January has not yet led to this. But it is necessary that security in Mogadishu, in particular, continue to be regularly assessed in the hope that a green light can soon be given to the return of the United Nations, particularly to the capital.

Mr. Bhuckory (Mauritius): Let me first thank you, Sir, for organizing this public meeting to discuss the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia. I take this opportunity to welcome Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in our midst and to thank him for his comprehensive statement made earlier today.

Since our discussion of the situation in Somalia in this Chamber last October there have been a number of important developments in respect to Somalia — first and foremost, the appointment of a new Prime Minister, Mr. Hassan Abshir Farah, to whom we would like to convey our best wishes for success. There has also been a change at the level of the Representative of the Secretary-General, with Mr. Winston Tubman replacing Mr. David Stephen. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to Mr. Stephen for the very important work he has done over the past four years in supporting the national reconciliation process in Somalia. We know

that his task was not an easy one. We welcome Mr. Tubman in his new function as the new Representative of the Secretary-General and express to him our full support in his new assignment.

Mauritius has said time and again that the Arta process remains the only viable framework that could bring hope to the Somali people and eventually peace and stability in Somalia. That is why it is so important to remain focused in our efforts to pursue the Arta process to its completion.

Last October, when we considered the situation in Somalia, the Mauritius delegation mentioned that the two major challenges facing the country and the Transitional National Government were national reconciliation on the political front and safeguarding the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Somalia. We welcome in this regard the statement of the Transitional National Government with regard to making the reconciliation process a top priority through talks with the factional leaders and regional administrations. Since last November, there have been a number of important regional initiatives to move the reconciliation process forward. We need to encourage these initiatives as much as we can.

One important initiative was the reconciliation meeting convened last December by President Moi of Kenya, during which a number of agreements were signed between the Transitional National Government and the faction leaders who were present at the meeting. Those efforts culminated in the decision of the Transitional National Government to form an all-inclusive and broader-based Government. This is a clear demonstration of the seriousness of the intent of the Transitional National Government to reach out to the faction leaders who have so far remained outside the Arta process. This also shows that there is hope for a reconciliation process in Somalia — especially when the countries of the region are determined to help in reconciliation efforts.

We support the proposal of the Secretary-General to re-establish the Committee of Friends on Somalia. We believe that such a group could be extremely useful in furthering the objectives of the Arta conference — objectives which the Security Council has reiterated time and again. It is therefore imperative that members of this group, to be established in both Nairobi and New York, share this vision of the Council. They should be genuinely committed to helping the Transitional National Government advance the national reconciliation process. Mauritius is ready to be part of that group.

We also welcome the regional political initiative recently undertaken by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to help the political process in Somalia. IGAD is, indeed, playing a vital role in advancing national reconciliation in Somalia. That was well demonstrated at the 9th IGAD Summit, which gave due attention to that issue. My delegation welcomes the Summit's decision to convene the Somalia reconciliation conference in Nairobi next month. At this juncture, it is important for the international community and the Security Council to send a strong message of support and to assist, by all means, the convening of the conference.

The report of the Secretary-General paints a bleak picture of the humanitarian situation in Somalia. The food security situation in Gedo is precarious. The international community should therefore step up its efforts to prevent a humanitarian tragedy from unfolding in Somalia. We call upon the donor countries to contribute to the United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for Somalia.

With regard to the security situation in Somalia, we have taken note of the findings of the inter-agency security assessment mission. The report states that Somalia remains one of the most dangerous environments in which the United Nations operates, and that is preventing the Secretary-General from launching the much-awaited long-term peace-building programme in Somalia. It is clear that the insecure environment is the result of the action of the warlords and their refusal to cooperate with the Transitional National Government. It is unacceptable that the United Nations continues to remain hostage to these warlords, who are committed only to spreading violence and undermining all efforts at reconciliation.

The intransigence of the warlords is exacerbated by the proliferation and easy availability of small arms and light weapons within Somalia. It is therefore important that those who are engaged in arming the various militia groups in Somalia be identified, and that action be taken against them. The arms embargo imposed on Somalia under Security Council resolution 733 (1992) is obviously being violated. It is unacceptable that, when the Security Council is striving to bring peace and stability to Somalia, there

are still some unscrupulous elements that are doing just the opposite by arming the warlords.

We are grateful to Ambassador Tafrov of Bulgaria for reactivating the work of the Somalia sanctions Committee. We believe that there is an urgent need to reinforce the arms embargo on that country.

As we discuss the situation in Somalia again today in the Council, we should ask ourselves what more the United Nations can do to assist that country, which has suffered from more than a decade of anarchy and chaos. We now have a process that appears to be on track, and we have a Transitional National Government that is showing that it is committed to bringing peace and order back to the country. In his statement to the Council last October, former Prime Minister Galaydh stated,

> "in all of our discussions with donors and with the United Nations we have always said that the best way to help us is to help establish the police and security forces". (*S/PV.4392 (Resumption 1), p. 18*)

That is precisely what the United Nations should do to help the Transitional National Government maintain security in Mogadishu and elsewhere. We urge the various United Nations development agencies to increase their efforts to train and equip the security forces of the Transitional National Government. The so-called police forces in Mogadishu are living in camps and are not earning any salary. Assisting them would send a strong message to the people of Somalia that the international community cares about their plight and to the warlords that it would be in their interests to put down their weapons and join the peace process.

Finally, we also fully support projects currently considered by the United Nations Development Programme for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of the militias. We hope that the next report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia will indicate the number of police personnel who have so far been trained and the number of militias considered under the DDR programme.

Mr. Mbayu (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for taking the initiative to organize a public debate in the Security Council on the situation in Somalia. Like earlier speakers, I would like to welcome His Excellency Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional National Government of Somalia. We would also like to thank him for the detailed information he gave us at the private meeting this morning on the situation in his country and the efforts being made by the Government to foster peace and national reconciliation in Somalia.

The situation in Somalia has been a major cause of concern to the international community for many years. It is a country that has been divided, torn apart, devastated and ravaged by war. Given that background, we warmly welcome the most recent report of the Secretary-General; the information that it contains is cause for renewed hope. We must take advantage of these positive signals.

Cameroon believes that by the end of this debate the Council will have stressed the importance of five points. The first is the need to maintain and strengthen national dialogue among all the Somali factions. The second is the need to step up the process of national reconciliation so as to foster a fully representative, broad-based Government, while at the same time preserving the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Somalia. Thirdly, specific steps must be taken for social and economic recovery and the restoration of peace, security and stability in that country. That will require increased mobilization of financial resources so as to attain the $83.7 million requested in the most recent Inter-Agency Consolidated Appeal to meet humanitarian needs. There will also have to be material and financial support for the very promising activities in the field by the World Health Organization and Doctors Without Borders. Fourthly, additional assistance will be required for the United Nations consolidated inter-agency disarmament, demobilization and reintegration plan. Fifthly, activities aimed at economic recovery for the consolidation of peace need to be strengthened, with particular emphasis on combating illiteracy, ensuring respect for the rule of law, demining, demobilizing militia groups and reintegrating former militia members, and ensuring respect for human rights.

In order for the recovery and reconstruction process in Somalia to succeed, our Somali brothers must demonstrate a spirit of tolerance, patriotism and dialogue, and accept negotiations with a view to national reconciliation. To that end, my country supports the initiative by the member countries of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development to bring

all factions together at a national reconciliation conference during the second half of April 2002. It is our hope that all factions will participate effectively at the conference.

Cameroon also supports the initiative of the Secretary-General to set up a Committee of Friends on Somalia, at both Nairobi and New York. The membership of the two groups must nevertheless take into account the complexity of the matter and the stated sensitivities of those in the subregion.

Lastly, I would like to congratulate Mr. Tubman, the new Representative of the Secretary-General. I wish him good luck in his new and noble task of bringing about peace and heartfelt reconciliation in Somalia.

Mr. Corr (Ireland): I would like, first, to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this public meeting on Somalia today.

My delegation joins others in warmly welcoming Minister Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, with whom the Council had a very constructive meeting in private session earlier this morning.

Placing Council attention on the situation in Somalia has been a priority for Ireland since coming into the Security Council. We are therefore very pleased to see the Council and the wider United Nations membership focus on the issue today in this open meeting.

The Permanent Representative of Spain will speak shortly on behalf of the European Union, and Ireland of course fully associates itself with his statement.

I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his report, which we have before us today. I want to pay warm tribute to the former Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. David Stephen, for his commitment to the people of Somalia and his untiring efforts in what must be one of the most challenging posts in the United Nations system. I would also like to wish Mr. Winston Tubman, the new Representative of the Secretary-General, every success as he takes on the mantle.

We heard in October from the former Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Stephen, that the people of Somalia were ready for peace. We see today in the report of the Secretary-General that the heads of State of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) have concluded that Somalis are tired of conflict and division. It has always been the case that the momentum for peace must come from the Somali people themselves. It is now clear that the people of Somalia have begun what will not be an easy process to move towards peaceful reconciliation. It is equally clear that the wider international community must support their efforts, building on the first, tentative steps taken at Arta. My delegation welcomes, for that reason, the proposal by the Secretary-General to establish the Committee of Friends on Somalia in New York and in Nairobi.

We are particularly encouraged that there is now agreement on a unified regional approach, which offers strong beginnings of new hope for Somalia. Ireland strongly supports the IGAD initiatives agreed at the level of heads of State and Government and foreign ministers since the beginning of the year. While it is true that only Somalia's leaders can end the suffering of their people, it is also fair to say that it will not be possible without a coordinated, constructive approach on the part of its neighbours. We encourage all States, in particular those in the region, to continue to contribute in this positive spirit to national reconciliation in Somalia. The gain will be not only for the people of Somalia but for wider regional stability and development.

The National Reconciliation Conference on Somalia, to be held in Nairobi in a few weeks' time, will be an historic opportunity for the Somali parties — all Somali parties — to begin at last to put the interests of the Somali people — innocent victims of years of mindless power feuding and divisions — ahead of all power struggles and partisan motives. We strongly encourage all Somali parties to participate in the conference, and to participate without preconditions, in a spirit of compromise and cooperation, so as to complete the process begun at Arta.

At the same time, we encourage all parties to continue to focus on achieving reconciliation at the local level as well. My delegation especially welcomes the commitment of the Secretary-General and his Special Adviser Mohamed Sahnoun to assist IGAD countries in implementing the decision taken at the 9th IGAD Summit. Ireland will strongly support an active United Nations role in this area.

As the report of the Secretary-General clearly illustrates, various United Nations agencies, including the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), are actively engaged in promoting peace and reconciliation through various programmes in Somalia, which, as the Secretary-General says, contribute to overall United Nations peace-building objectives. We are encouraged by the briefing that the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) gave in Geneva in February when introducing the Consolidated Appeal, reporting that there are approximately 150 United Nations staff working on the ground in Somalia on any given day.

The results of the recent inter-agency security assessment mission in Somalia are clear, and we of course accept that, for the moment, the United Nations should not repatriate United Nations Political Office for Somalia. We also hope, and we are confident, that this question will be kept under review. In the meantime, we must see what the international community can do within these constraints to assist the people of Somalia, who for over a decade now have struggled, to a large extent isolated from the support available to the populations of other countries struggling with crisis.

The international community has a clear and unambiguous responsibility to the people of Somalia, which obliges us to look beyond the limitations that the current security situation imposes and to reflect and come up with ideas as to what is possible within the constraints to help create the circumstances in which the United Nations can become more fully engaged in Somalia. We in the Council, in short, also have that responsibility. Silence and lack of action is not an option.

We have the presidential statement that we adopted in October, which calls for proposals on how the United Nations may further assist in the demobilization of militia members and the training of police personnel from the Transitional National Government. We believe it would be appropriate to look at such proposals and at any other means by which we could help create more favourable circumstances on the ground.

We should also now consider how to give greater effect to the arms embargo on Somalia. The reports of preparations for a major offensive, as contained in paragraph 33 of the Secretary-General's report, are extremely worrying, as such reported developments would clearly be in breach of Security Council resolution 733 (1992). In the presidential statement of October last year, the Council insisted

> "that all States, in particular those of the region, should not interfere in the internal affairs of Somalia. Such interference could jeopardize the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and unity of Somalia." (*S/PRST/2001/30, p. 2*)

The Council furthermore insisted that "the territory of Somalia should not be used to undermine stability in the subregion" (*ibid.*). We believe that if these principles were respected, the security situation in Somalia would be enhanced.

We strongly support strengthening enforcement of the sanctions regime. One option might be the establishment of an appropriate mechanism to do so, as it is clear that the regime that has been in place now for 10 years has not been enforced.

Ireland welcomes the establishment of an anti-terrorism task force by the Transitional National Government, and we urge that it be seen to be effective and urgent in its work.

The report of the Secretary-General points to a perilous humanitarian situation in the country. The United Nations humanitarian and development agencies continue to carry out important, life-saving work in the face of often serious obstacles. Such obstacles include a certain ennui on the part of the international donor community, and we strongly urge donors to respond generously to the Inter-Agency Appeal.

My delegation notes the comments of the Minister this morning on the impact of the freezing of the Al-Barakaat accounts. We are also hopeful that a satisfactory solution will be found quickly, which would help ease unnecessary suffering.

There is no such thing as a failed society. There may be failed State institutions, there may be weakness of governance, but society and the needs of people transcend more narrow, legalistic definitions. The people of Somalia need the help of the international community. The IGAD partners need our support. The peoples of the region need our engagement. We on the Council have a duty to offer this support.

Mr. Diallo (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): My delegation first wishes to thank you, Sir, for taking the initiative of convening this open meeting on Somalia, which comes just a few days after the meeting on the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict. That initiative was a most eloquent demonstration of the interest that the Council, through your presidency, attaches to the peaceful resolution of conflicts in Africa. My delegation also wishes to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for the wealth of detail and highly useful contents of his latest report on the situation in Somalia.

We welcome the appointment of Mr. Winston Tubman as the Secretary-General's Representative for Somalia, and we assure him of our cooperation. We would also like to welcome the presence of Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, and to thank him for his informative report during our closed meeting.

The grave crisis affecting Somalia for over a decade remains a matter of great concern. The way has been prepared for national reconciliation. The Arta peace process of 2000, which fostered reconciliation among part of the Somali society and gave rise to the establishment of transitional institutions, gives reason for hope in this regard. My delegation believes that the process, recognized by the international community as the only viable foundation for a lasting and global solution to the crisis, must be fully carried out.

In this regard, we consider it urgent and imperative that all parties to the conflict, political groups and factions be part of the current process. That is one of the sine qua non conditions for a lasting restoration of peace. National reconciliation and the restoration of confidence cannot be achieved without the effective participation of all socio-political sensibilities in the country.

One welcomes the decision of the 9th Summit of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to hold a reconciliation conference to include the participation of all Somali political actors, in Nairobi in April. It is to be hoped that all those who have influence over the various actors use it to ensure their effective participation.

There is no doubt that the results achieved are derisory compared to the suffering endured by the Somali population since 1991. Indeed, numerous challenges are yet to be addressed, among them the humanitarian and security problems. That is why it is essential to reinforce the arms embargo in order put an end to their proliferation. A demobilization, disarmament and reintegration programme must be implemented as well.

With regard to humanitarian concerns, my delegation is concerned at the grave situation of food shortages and appeals to the international community to mobilize resources to alleviate the suffering of the population.

It is understood that it is first and foremost up to the Somalis themselves to demonstrate their wisdom by finally putting an end to the fratricidal conflict, which has gone on too long. However, it is also true that the international community can provide the impetus and continue the efforts made in this country since 1992. For this reason, my delegation continues to believe that the United Nations has a role in the recovery of Somalia, taking into account, needless to say, the security of its personnel. My delegation believes that in the current international context, the implementation of a peace-building mission in Somalia is indispensable.

Finally, my delegation is favourable to the idea of creating a committee of friends of the Secretary-General for Somalia.

Mr. Williamson (United States of America): We would like to welcome our Somali friends, Foreign Minister Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim and other members of the Transitional National Government, back to the Security Council. We thank them for their statements to the Council this morning. We note their efforts to comply with the provisions of Council resolution 1373 (2001) and appreciate their contributions to date in the war against terrorism.

The United States remains committed to working with all Somalis dedicated to the tasks of combating terrorism, ensuring a secure environment for the delivery of humanitarian assistance, promoting economic development and overcoming long-term governance challenges.

We thank the Secretary-General for the recent report on Somalia and share his concern over the lack of progress on political reconciliation. We, too, remain concerned over continued violence throughout Somalia. In particular, we condemn those responsible for the recent death of a worker for the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the kidnapping of the UNICEF programme director based in Mogadishu.

Those incidents point out once again the very dangers that United Nations personnel face each day in Somalia.

We commend the United Nations for its continued efforts to assist civilians in need through the provision of humanitarian assistance and promoting economic development where feasible. We share the Security Council's concern over the worsening humanitarian situation, which is compounded by the level of violence, which threatens to reduce humanitarian assistance operations.

The United States supports the Secretary-General's recommendation for the establishment of a friends of Somalia group constituted both in Nairobi and here in New York. We would also like to express our appreciation to Mr. David Stephan, the former Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, for his dedicated and tireless work. We welcome Mr. Winston Tubman, the Secretary-General's new Representative for Somalia, and pledge to work with him as we move forward.

We fully concur with the assessment of the security situation in Somalia, based upon the recommendations of the United Nations headquarters inter-agency mission and their recommendation not to re-establish the peace-building office in Mogadishu at this time.

As members recall, the inter-agency composition of the United Nations mission was intended to ensure that those United Nations departments responsible for conducting operations in Somalia would have an opportunity to evaluate the security situation on the ground from the perspective of their humanitarian and political operational requirements. Those officials contributed to the final assessment contained in the report. We believe that those United Nations departments, in conjunction with United Nations security officials, are best suited to make a judgement concerning the United Nations presence in Somalia.

We remain committed to removing the terrorist threat in Somalia and ensuring against the use of Somalia as a terrorist base. To that end, we call upon all parties in Somalia to observe the provisions of Council resolution 1373 (2001).

We also seek to prevent developments in Somalia from threatening regional peace and stability. Security Council resolution 733 (1992), which calls for a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia, remains in force and is relevant to the fight against terrorism as well as to the quest for peace and reconciliation. All States have a continued obligation to implement resolution 733 (1992) fully and completely. We appreciate the leadership demonstrated by Bulgaria in convening the Committee established pursuant to resolution 733 (1992) and stand ready to assist the Committee in developing strategies that will result in an effective arms embargo for Somalia.

We support Somali and regional efforts intended to promote national reconciliation and to overcome the long-term governance challenges that terrorists have exploited to make Somalia a base. Specifically, we call upon all Somali parties to attend the April national reconciliation conference in Kenya — sponsored by President Moi, endorsed by both Ethiopia and Djibouti and carried out under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development — without reservation or preconditions. We also call upon neighbouring States to play a constructive role in efforts aimed at Somali political reconciliation and request that they encourage all Somali parties to attend the conference and approach it with the goal of fostering political stability in Somalia.

We believe that, ultimately, the Somali people control their own political destiny and must choose to lay down their arms and end the interminable cycle of violence that has engulfed Somalia since 1991. Nonetheless, we also recognize that the international community and we must do our part. The international community has once again turned its attention to Somalia and is ready to demonstrate its commitment to assist in political reconciliation and economic development. It is now up to the Somali people to turn away from "warlordism" for their "States" which seek to play a constructive role, to demonstrate their willingness to put the failures of the past behind them and to work together for a new Somalia.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We join other speakers in thanking the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, for his important statement containing a very thorough and detailed analysis of the situation in his country. In our opinion, that statement was extremely useful. We also thank you, Mr. President, for having organized this meeting.

The Russian delegation agrees with the assessments and observations contained in the Secretary-General's report. We wish to comment on three key issues reflected in the report.

We share the Secretary-General's "cautious optimism" with regard to the outcome of the ninth Summit of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The general understanding achieved on how to resolve the urgent problems of Somalia on the basis of consensus among the countries of the subregion is an important prerequisite for harmonizing the various peace initiatives under way. Coordinated efforts in the framework of IGAD among the Somali factions will deprive the destructive forces of any opportunity to exploit the conflicts between the countries of the subregion and other interested players.

The task of the Security Council and the entire international community is to strengthen the positive approach of IGAD and to encourage Somalis in their turn to interact constructively with that organization. Russia is prepared to continue to assist the efforts of the countries of the subregion on a bilateral basis and within the context of the Joint IGAD Partners Forum.

We note the Secretary-General's intention to establish committees of friends of Somalia in Nairobi and in New York. We believe that such structures should primarily provide moral, political and, where possible, material support for the collective efforts of the IGAD countries and the positive forces in Somalia to emerge from crisis. Naturally, membership in the committees of friends should be open to all interested participants, including members of the Security Council, that can provide genuine assistance in that work.

We agree with the Secretary-General's conclusion that the security situation in Somalia, including in Mogadishu, is not yet conducive to the establishment of a United Nations political office there. The Council, together with other members of the United Nations family, must map out a clear path for providing effective assistance to the Somali people once the conditions have been met.

We have also focused our attention on that section of the report addressing the fight against international terrorism. We note that the leaders of the Transitional National Government have asserted that they will not tolerate any manifestation of such a threat in the territory of Somalia. At the same time, we understand that the capacities of the Transitional National Government and other Somali groupings prepared to combat extremism are limited. It is the task of the international community and the Security Council, at the heart of the struggle against international terrorism, to provide the Somalis with the essential help they need to neutralize any possible manifestation of terrorism. It is important for the Somalis themselves energetically to cooperate in that task with the Counter-Terrorism Committee established pursuant to a Security Council resolution. Such cooperation, including possible measures against persons linked to international terrorism, should have a solid foundation in international law. The ultimate neutralization of the various threats emanating from the territory of Somalia will be impossible without the restoration of peace and order throughout the country.

Mr. Harrison (United Kingdom): May I, through you, Sir, thank the Foreign Minister of the Transitional National Government of Somalia for his statement this morning.

The representative of Spain will be speaking shortly on behalf of the European Union and my delegation naturally endorses everything that he will say. I just want to make a few points in my national capacity.

The Nairobi peace and reconciliation conference will be crucial, but we should all be realistic about what it can achieve. Even if the parties are able to resolve only some of their differences, we would reckon that the Nairobi peace conference will have been a success. We must, however, regard it as the first stage in a process and not the endgame and be realistic in assuming that agreement at Nairobi is unlikely on a broad-based Government. Instead, the focus of Nairobi should be on resolving differences among the parties in the South and on finding a political settlement that may result in the formation of a broad-based Government in due course. The United Kingdom is contributing £25,000 to the expenses of the Nairobi conference.

It is important that the United Nations and, indeed, other international bodies do not make any statements before Nairobi that might prejudice the outcome — for example, statements that push a particular constitutional model for Somalia. As many delegations have already said, the only stable outcome will be one that is generated and agreed by the Somali people and parties themselves.

A number of delegations have commented on the question of a peace-building mission in Somalia. We believe that a United Nations office there would be useful, but we also believe that it is important that we all respect the Secretary-General's judgement on the safety of personnel, which is clearly the most important priority.

We are also concerned by the proliferation of arms supplies to Somalia. Countries that are engaged in the arms trade to Somalia are not only in breach of Council resolution 733 (1992) but are also further destabilizing the country, fuelling the gun culture and undermining regional efforts to reduce the flow of arms. Like others, we are in favour of reactivating the arms embargo.

We also encourage the United Nations, in conjunction with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and other regional bodies, to do more to solve problems that would bring practical benefits for the people of Somalia. In this context, it may be worth encouraging the Government of Saudi Arabia more energetically to lift the livestock ban, to make a serious attempt to stop the flow of illegal arms and to take tough action against the dumping of toxic waste into legal fishing areas in Somali waters.

Finally, if the Nairobi Conference fails and hostilities increase, the international community will need to consider appropriate action against those who are responsible.

Mr. Aguilar Zínser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): I join the expressions of congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your convening of this meeting on Somalia. On behalf of my country, I should also like to thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, for presenting his statement to the Council in a frank and precise manner.

At this meeting, we return once again to the issue of Somalia, which has been a source of concern to the United Nations and the Security Council for more than 10 years. During this period, the initiatives presented have not taken hold or achieved their fundamental purpose: peace, development, harmony and understanding in the country. However, this must not be a reason for the Security Council and the United Nations to excuse themselves from their responsibilities and commitments in Somalia.

The evaluation undertaken by the inter-agency security assessment mission that went to Somalia is not promising. Quite simply, the analysis of the conflict situation that the country is living through underlines the necessity that this issue remain a matter for the Council's attention.

Last week, in the private consultations held by the Council, Assistant Secretary-General Ibrahim Fall reiterated the feeling of the Secretary-General, expressed in his letter of November 2001, that so long as security conditions do not permit the return of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia, it will have to continue performing its functions from Nairobi. Thus, Mr. Winston Tubman, recently appointed by the Secretary-General as his Representative to direct that Office, will have to begin its work from another country. I should like to add here that we wish Mr. Tubman every success in the difficult task for which the Secretary-General has singled him out. We also give him our vote of confidence.

Upon arriving in the region, Mr. Tubman will confront a very complicated situation in which, in Mexico's view, what is most urgent is to concentrate efforts on humanitarian assistance, supplying ample aid to the Somali population, who need it for distinct reasons. This population faces, in addition to inter-ethnic problems and the armed conflict between opposing groups, grave conditions of malnutrition and endemic diseases that require medical attention. Above all, an economic recovery that would enable improvement in the welfare of the Somali population is needed.

Our attention must be immediate and, of course, include the assessment of how various United Nations programmes in Somalia can be reinforced, how we can establish a fund to support the process of peace that may be achieved in that country, and how to coordinate peacemaking and humanitarian efforts. There is a close link between security conditions in the country and food security for the Somalis, and this is a priority that the United Nations must address.

The context in which humanitarian and development activities must be undertaken is precisely that of improving security. We must confront the prevailing conditions of insecurity that caused the withdrawal of United Nations personnel and that today put at risk the safety and security of locally hired

personnel in the areas where the United Nations carries out its sorely needed and urgent tasks.

Closely connected to the problem of security is that of worsening humanitarian and food security conditions and, in its turn, the trafficking in and proliferation of small arms and light weapons. We recall that there is a United Nations sanctions regime imposed by the Security Council that includes an embargo on small arms and light weapons. Nevertheless, the conflict continues and the sanctions regime has been unable to operate effectively. Therefore, we welcome and firmly support the Bulgarian delegation in its efforts to restructure that regime.

We also note once again the Secretariat's affirmation that this is one of the most dangerous environments in which the United Nations operates, and thus we welcome all the efforts that the Organization can undertake to control arms and the financing of arms trafficking and to deal with the possible links between these and terrorist groups as one of the central tasks of the Organization.

We support the Transitional National Government and believe, as said earlier today, that it is the starting point for achieving peace and reconciliation in Somalia. We wish the Government every success in its efforts to bring about peace in the country and to establish the basis for reconciliation and conditions of governance that would include the participation of all groups and factions in the country.

We are aware that, as pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report, the security situation in Somalia is highly fragile and that the Transitional National Government does not enjoy full recognition throughout the territory. Therefore, we hope that the reconciliation efforts carried out by the Government and promoted by the international community will be successful and that they benefit all domestic groups.

We believe that the Security Council, the international community and international agencies as a whole must coordinate their efforts to see to it that the parties give up violence and achieve a national reconciliation in which the various actors and groups accept the need to share power. We will therefore pay close attention to developments related to, and the results that will emanate from, the upcoming National Reconciliation Conference set for April, which is to be convened under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). We also invite all Somali groups to participate in that meeting in a constructive spirit.

We trust that at that Conference solutions will be found that are based on the principle of respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia and that will create conditions conducive to governance and to the sharing of authority and power in the country.

We support the decision taken at the IGAD Summit recognizing that consensus among Somalia's neighbours is essential for progress to be made in the quest for a peaceful settlement and an orderly transition. This is an opportunity for the countries involved to demonstrate their commitment to peace and stability in the region while respecting the will of the Somali people themselves.

In this sense, we endorse the support voiced here for the initiative to create two groups of friends of Somalia — within the region itself and here in New York, at United Nations Headquarters.

In conclusion, I should like to place on record the fact that Mexico has all along maintained that the United Nations must play an active and direct role in efforts to keep the peace in Somalia. Though we agree with the Secretary-General's assertion that peace cannot be imposed on the parties to a given conflict if they do not seek it actively and do not in fact want it, we maintain that, wherever a process is required for achieving peace, it is the duty of the United Nations to guarantee that this is done and that, wherever obstacles are encountered to progress in this respect, it is our duty, as members of the Security Council, to work tirelessly to help ensure that such obstacles are overcome.

The President: In view of the late hour, and with the concurrence of the members of the Council, I shall now suspend the meeting until 3.30 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4487 (Resumption 1)

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4487th meeting

Monday, 11 March 2002, 3.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Kolby	(Norway)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Mbayu
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mauritius	Mr. Bhuckory
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zínser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/2002/189)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

02-28098 (E)

The meeting was resumed at 3.40 p.m.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Jordan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al-Hussein (Jordan) (*spoke in Arabic*): On behalf of the Arab Group, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are certain that thanks to your experience, outstanding qualities and competence, the work of the Security Council will be crowned with success. I should also like to express my great thanks to His Excellency the Permanent Representative of Mexico for having guided the work of the Council so skilfully last month. We should also like to welcome the Foreign Minister of Somalia. We wish as well to express our greatest appreciation to you, Sir, for having convened this meeting of the Council, which affords us an opportunity to take a fresh and close look at the Somali situation, evaluate it and find ways and means to help the Somalis move forward with their national reconciliation process and overcome the obstacles that block the restoration of calm and stability.

In order for peace and security to be restored to Somalia, and thereby to guarantee that it regains its territorial integrity, full sovereignty and political independence, it is essential to help the Transitional National Government to move forward, strengthening its contacts, pursuing the process of national reconciliation and, finally, ensuring national unity. With this in mind, we must avoid foreign interference in the domestic affairs of Somalia, as well as anything that might compromise or hamstring the process. In this connection, we are certain that the Arta conference has provided the foundation for that process of national reconciliation and understanding in Somalia. Indeed, if we depart from the fundamental principles of that process, we will not be able to help Somalia to emerge from the crisis or facilitate a just and comprehensive solution in that country.

In that context, we welcome the 9th Summit of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, held in Khartoum, which considered the issue of national reconciliation in Somalia. That complemented and affirmed the work of the Arta conference. The process of reconciliation is to be pursued in Nairobi in April, with a view to finally restoring peace, security and tranquillity to Somalia.

We hope that the Security Council will continue to convene meetings of this kind and to closely follow developments in Somalia. We call on the Security Council to dispatch a fact-finding mission to Somalia to assess the situation there and to re-examine the situation on the ground. We also support the setting up of monitoring mechanisms for the arms embargo, in particular to monitor compliance with the resolution that established the embargo.

We believe that the League of Arab States should be part of the Committee of Friends on Somalia with a view to helping that country emerge from crisis.

Finally, we would also like to express the hope that Somalia will finally overcome the crisis that has affected it for so long, and that the Transitional National Government will get all the support and assistance that it needs in all areas from the Security Council and from the international community as a whole.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, and the European Free Trade Area country member of the European Economic Area Iceland align themselves with this statement.

I would like begin by welcoming to the Council the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional National Government of Somalia, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim.

The European Union welcomes today's public debate in the Security Council and the opportunity it provides to assess the situation in Somalia in the light of the Secretary-General's report and to focus our attention, for the second time in less than a week, on the Horn of Africa — a region of particular concern to the European Union.

The future of Somalia depends, first and foremost, on the Somali people themselves. The international community must help the Somalis to turn around the dangerous and unusual situation in Somalia,

which, for more than a decade, has had to manage without governmental structures. Years of civil war, poverty and social disintegration have led to a situation that constitutes a security threat and a potential source of instability and extremism in the region. Investing in peace and in the comprehensive reconstruction of Somalia will contribute to regional security and prevent future conflict.

The European Union underlines the need for a unified approach to the peace process and for greater consistency in its policy towards Somalia so as to achieve a comprehensive and lasting settlement. In this regard, the European Union welcomes with satisfaction the timely resolution adopted on Somalia at the 9th Summit of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), held in Khartoum on 10 and 11 January, and the recommendations contained therein.

The European Union would like to emphasize the need for a firm commitment against terrorism, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). In this context, the European Union attaches special importance to, and welcomes in particular, IGAD's recommendation urging the Transitional National Government and all other de facto authorities and political forces to commit themselves to combat terrorism in all its forms. We note the establishment by the Transitional National Government of an anti-terrorism task force and its stated intention to take further steps in that regard. The Union is currently providing Somalia with assistance in specific areas so as to enable it to meet the requirements of the Counter-Terrorism Committee.

The European Union welcomes the decision on Somalia taken on 14 February by the IGAD Committee of Foreign Ministers to convene, in the second half of April at Nairobi, a national reconciliation conference, to include, without preconditions, the Transitional National Government and all other Somali de facto authorities and political forces. We wish the conference every success and encourage all the Somali parties to participate in it. We also welcome IGAD's call for cooperation among the three front-line States — Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti — which gives us cause for hope that the peace and reconciliation process will gain renewed impetus.

The Somalis themselves are the main participants in the national reconciliation dialogue. The parties must put aside their differences and participate in the IGAD-facilitated dialogue without preconditions and with a genuine resolve to broaden and complete the national reconciliation process that began in Arta so as to make it truly inclusive. We encourage the United Nations to work closely with and provide every assistance to the countries members of IGAD and to the Somali parties in preparing for and participating in that conference.

The European Union emphasizes its readiness to examine ways and means of supporting IGAD's efforts to help the Somalis achieve peace and national reconciliation and to put an end to a situation that is causing great distress and suffering among the civilian population. In this regard, a meeting of the IGAD Partners Forum on Somalia is scheduled to take place in Rome on 11 April.

We call once again on all States and other parties involved to respect the arms embargo established by Security Council resolution 733 (1992). All States, and in particular those of the region, must refrain from any military involvement in Somalia and from taking any other initiative that could seriously infringe on the sovereignty, political independence, unity and prospects for peace of this country. The territory of Somalia should not be used to undermine stability in the region.

The European Union takes note of the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report, and in particular of the assessment of the security situation carried out by the inter-agency mission dispatched to Somalia. The Secretary-General considers that the current security situation in Mogadishu does not allow for a long-term United Nations presence. The European Union fully shares these security concerns. It is nonetheless absolutely essential that there be active United Nations involvement in the Somali peace process, in the rehabilitation process and in the restoration of peace and stability. We must look at ways in which the United Nations and the international community can contribute to breaking this cycle of insecurity and help create the necessary security conditions in Somalia.

In that regard, we encourage further proposals on post-conflict peace-building activities and institution-building in Somalia, including assistance in the demobilization of militia members and in the training of police personnel, as set out in the Security Council presidential statement of 31 October 2001

(S/PRST/2001/30). We look forward to the establishment of a Committee of Friends of Somalia by the Secretary-General to coordinate efforts and gather support for peace and the reconstruction of the country.

We want to stress that it is necessary to support and promote the role of civil society in the process of national reconciliation and social and economic reconstruction, as well as women's participation in peace-building at all levels. Further attention should be given to the education and training of young people.

All parties in Somalia must fully respect the security and safety of the personnel of the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and non-governmental organizations, and must guarantee their complete freedom of movement and access throughout Somalia. In that regard, it is necessary to reopen the airport and port of Mogadishu to allow for increased humanitarian assistance. It is also important that Somali leaders heed the call of the Secretary-General to welcome and assist in the implementation of humanitarian and socio-economic development projects.

The catastrophic situation of human rights in the country deserves our attention. In particular, steps must be taken to end the widespread impunity for, among other things, arbitrary and summary executions and acts of torture, as well as to improve the human rights of women and the rights of the child. The widespread abominable practice of recruiting children as soldiers still continues. The European Union is deeply concerned at the absence of an effective judicial system.

The humanitarian situation in Somalia, caused by conflict, food insecurity and the current drought, remains a deep concern. In that regard, the European Union stands ready to continue its contribution to the international effort. Where security conditions permit, we are currently providing humanitarian and rehabilitation assistance to local communities, particularly through non-governmental organizations.

Finally, the European Union remains committed to continuing its support for the peace process in Somalia, and in particular to the efforts of IGAD. A lasting solution for Somalia requires the political will of all Somali parties, the constructive role and the support of its immediate neighbours, the full cooperation of other interested countries and active engagement by the wider international community.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): I would like at the outset to thank the Secretary-General for his latest report on the situation in Somalia. We also take this opportunity to welcome his decision to appoint Mr. Winston Tubman as his new Representative for Somalia. We wish Mr. Tubman every success in his efforts. We also wish to welcome Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia and wish him success in his efforts.

Allow me here to highlight some specific points that are of importance to Egypt. First, in its presidential statement of 31 October 2001 (S/PRST/2001/30), the Security Council reiterated its support for the outcome of the Arta conference and the establishment of the Transitional National Government. We therefore expect that the efforts the Council will be focused on the completion of the Arta process and the promotion of the national reconciliation process based on it. That should be done by encouraging and urging all Somali factions and groups to join the efforts of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in this framework, which we hope will be crowned with success at the reconciliation conference to be held at Nairobi next month. We also hope that the Council will invite all States that have influence on those factions to exercise that influence in a constructive manner so as to guarantee the participation of all Somali parties in the conference and ensure that it is a success.

Secondly, at a time when the efforts aimed at achieving national reconciliation are continuing and when the Transitional National Government is attempting to include as many of the factions as possible in the institutions established by the Arta process, those efforts are still being held hostage by the warlords to their personal interests, as well as by the armed hostilities that periodically erupt in different parts of the country. If the international community is unable to take concrete steps to disarm and demobilize the militia elements whose intransigence obstructs the peace process — especially those in Mogadishu — then we expect the Council, at the very least, to take the initiative to implement its own resolutions by enforcing the arms embargo imposed by resolution 733 (1992) and by establishing a specific mechanism to monitor compliance with the embargo and to guarantee

its enforcement. There is no excuse for the embargo imposed on Somalia to be the sole exception that elicits no interest, when we find the Council so eager to shoulder its responsibilities in enforcing the sanctions regimes it previously imposed on the Taliban in Afghanistan, the Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone, UNITA in Angola and others.

Thirdly, the delegation of Egypt takes note of the comments of the Secretary-General's report on launching a peace-building mission in Somalia. While we appreciate the reasons and justifications that led the Secretary-General not to recommend deploying the mission to the country at this stage, we affirm that the United Nations must be ready to face the challenges and dangers it may confront in Somalia as it does elsewhere in the regions and countries where United Nations personnel are present. We cannot afford to wait for optimal security conditions to proceed with the deployment of the mission, especially as such reasoning would only lead us into a vicious circle dissipating any real hope of providing security, peace and welfare for the Somali people, who have known nothing but war and poverty for the last decade.

Fourthly, the delegation of Egypt welcomes the approach suggested by the Secretary-General of establishing a committee of friends for Somalia based in Nairobi, with a parallel committee here in New York. While this initiative represents a step in the right direction, it should not be seen as in end in itself. Rather, it should be seen as a point of departure not only for coordinating and harmonizing the various approaches adopted by the relevant States and organizations but also for regaining the central role that the United Nations must play in pushing the peace process in Somalia, promoting national reconciliation and responding to the immediate and long-term needs of Somalia as it attempts to regain its normal place in the international community.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Djibouti. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): Let me at the outset congratulate you, Sir, for assuming the presidency of the Council for this month. With your usual open-mindedness and sensitivity to conflict situations before this body, coupled with your vast experience, we are indeed in good, steady hands. May I also express our gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Adolfo Aguilar Zinser of Mexico, for steering the deliberations of the Council last month to a successful conclusion.

May I also extend a warm word of welcome to the new Foreign Minster of Somalia, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, who is in our midst today. My delegation is very pleased with the appointment of Mr. Winston Tubman as the new head of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia. We value his extensive and multifaceted career, which is undoubtedly a rare asset in the understanding and appreciation of the Somali conflict and its ramifications. We congratulate him and wish him well. We also wish to pay a deserved tribute to his predecessor, Mr. David Stephen, for his sterling performance in the conduct of his duties. We found him a fine, genuine and reliable professional, as well as a good friend.

The latest report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia highlights several critical issues in the search for a comprehensive peace and stability in Somalia. The report cites the fact that the Security Council had noted that the Arta peace process is the most viable basis for peace and national reconciliation in Somalia.

In the same vein, the European Union, in its statement of last August, exhorted the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and its member States to enhance their efforts towards encouraging the process of reconciliation in Somalia, on the basis of the achievements of the Arta conference so as to assist the Somalis to achieve peace and national reconciliation.

The report also underscores the view that there is a need to bring into line others that opted to stay outside the process. But of great significance is what the report describes as a divergence of views among IGAD member States regarding national reconciliation in Somalia.

From a regional perspective, therefore, the question is whether this divergence is compounding Somalia's woes, further complicating the reconciliation efforts, despite the Somali people's keen desire for peace. Will the countries in the region come to terms with the reality that the Somali people have had sufficient squabbles and divisions of their own for too long that they hardly need to be mired by different regional interests?

The longer and the deeper that instability and insecurity are allowed to fester and persist in Somalia, the greater the risk of engendering warfare in the region. The international community has turned a blind eye to brutality and bloodshed in that country for too long; it is now grappling with the lessons of its past mistakes.

If not brought to an end sooner rather than later, continued instability in Somalia will exacerbate conditions that make the Horn of Africa one of the most impoverished regions in the world. No one doubts, therefore, that Somalia's difficulties have regional dimensions, represent a menace to regional peace and complicate efforts to find a lasting peace in this part of Africa.

My country endured unquantifiable sacrifice in initiating the Somalia National Peace Conference in the first half of 2000, following the historic statement of my President in the General Assembly in 1999. Against the background of unending despair and political paralysis in Somalia, Djibouti sponsored a reconfigured conference favouring the civilian population, which for years suffered violent bloodshed, destruction, neglect and marginalization at the hands of armed groups. The process was designed to be comprehensive, inclusive, transparent, and representative, and therefore not to exclude any individual, group or region nor favour or accord special status to any individual, group or region.

All issues, problems or accommodations were left open for discussion in the conference. No prior conditions were accepted from any of the participants. With the notable exception of some who were apparently threatened by the democratic nature of the process, which was led and driven by the civil society, the overwhelming majority of Somalis attended the conference, which produced the first national framework in a decade.

Djibouti persevered in the face of massive campaigns designed to undermine, destabilize, distort and denigrate the conference. In its statement of 29 June 2000 (S/PRST/2000/22), the Council warned these elements "to desist from obstructing and undermining efforts to achieve peace". The Council expressed its readiness to take appropriate steps against those engaged in such activities and urged all States to stop providing these individuals with the means to carry on their destructive activities. In a nutshell, that was the conference, what it was all about and the challenges it faced.

Both in January and February this year, IGAD member countries met to consider extensively the conflict in Somalia. It is hoped that the follow-up conference that will bring together the Government and other parties ranged against it will take place next month in Nairobi. One of the major achievements of these latest IGAD meetings was the recognition that countries in the Horn of Africa, particularly the frontline States, must coordinate their efforts toward national reconciliation in Somalia.

We cannot truly speak of reconciliation in Somalia, however, as long as IGAD member countries are pursuing varying, indeed, opposing goals both with regard to what it takes to achieve peace and reconciliation in Somalia and what the final outcome would look like. Under these circumstances, one wonders whether we are looking for the same kind of Somalia. The clearest testimony yet to the region's contradictory and self-defeating policies regarding Somalia has been the relentless equivocation and systematic negation of the outcome of the Arta process, so that it, too, suffers the same misfortune as the preceding reconciliation efforts. This is a cause of much concern to all those who care about the plight and future destiny of the Somali people.

The Transitional National Government is a fledgling, nascent administration that inherited nothing but chaos, destruction and empty coffers. As such, countries in its own region owed it every bit of compassion and material and moral support with no strings attached.

To a great extent, everything depended on the unambiguous, clear and shared vision of the region. In the absence of a coherent and supportive policy from our own region, however, it was highly unlikely that the donor community, the United Nations and international organizations would become involved in our backyard for reasons other than humanitarian ones. That is precisely what happened before and what has been happening since the establishment of the Transitional National Government.

It is the inaction, rivalry, jealousies, mixed signals and inconsistency of our own region that are seriously hampering the full realization of the gains achieved by the people of Somalia at Arta. If only we, the countries of the region, had put our acts together in

a rational, responsible and reassuring way; if only we had galvanized support and mobilized resources for this worthy cause; if only we had shunned apathy towards the Transitional National Government and rather checked the re-emergence of warlordism, factionalism and secessionist tendencies; if only we had refrained from rhetoric, sabre-rattling and deliberate and provocative threats; if only we had refrained from accentuating the weaknesses of the Transitional National Government; if only we had heeded the passionate cry of the Somali people, we would perhaps be here today addressing Somalia in a totally different context.

Needless to say, the Somali people and its leaders bear full responsibility for reconciling and negotiating an end to the conflict. Equally important, however, no amount of goodwill, support or assistance on the part of the international community can bring about peace in Somalia unless the countries of the region bury their differences and demonstrate the ability to rise above their national interests and to put the interest of the people of Somalia first and foremost.

Such squabbles over Somalia's destiny are taking place with little, if any, criticism from the international community. What is prevailing in the region goes far beyond mere honest differences. It is deeper, divisive and simply unwarranted. It goes to the heart of the matter, negating the will of the Somali people and thus posing a defiant challenge to peace and security in the region. That is why Djibouti is not keen to qualify the conclusions of the Secretary-General in the absence of coherent policy approaches on the part of the countries in the region.

Let us not forget that the decade-long wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone were among the most brutal of modern times. Thanks, however, to the determination, sacrifices and perseverance of the countries members of the Economic Community of West African States, peace was restored. Sierra Leone has turned an important corner, a far cry from the chaos and hopelessness of only a year ago. The contribution of the neighbouring countries has been immense. Without their military support and cohesive policies, the deployment of troops from the United Nations and the United Kingdom could not have been possible. These are good examples of what other regions in Africa have done by coalescing around particular conflict situations to forge a common, united position and approach to corrective action. We are also well aware of the series of ministerial delegations that have visited the United Nations over the years to take part in debates and to lobby for international support in such conflict situations as those in Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone or the Central African Republic, to name just a few.

The day we see a similar demonstration of commitment from the countries of IGAD, peace will dawn in Somalia. Let us hope this will happen, and that it will happen sooner rather than later.

Throughout this tragedy, admiration must be expressed for the valiant humanitarian efforts and genuine concern exhibited by the United Nations agencies and volunteer non-governmental organizations. Without these efforts, it would be difficult to comprehend the condition of the people of Somalia. We certainly join with the Secretary-General in recognizing the exemplary work they have performed, often at great personal risk and sacrifice. They are doing all they can in the wake of failing interest and support. One individual who stands out in objectively and courageously highlighting the humanitarian situation in Somalia is Mr. Randolph Kent, the United Nations Development Programme Resident Representative in Somalia based in Nairobi. He has been the real advocate for Somalia. He recently said:

> "Somalia is a country in transition. The strength of a society is never put to a greater test than when it is confronted with the task of recreating itself."

Finally, Djibouti believes that the time has come for the Horn of Africa region to accept responsibility for the lack of resolution in the Somali conflict. This conflict has been with us for too long. It is unsustainable; it is untenable. There remains an opportunity to harmonize our actions, minimize our differences and show care and compassion for the dire situation of the people. If we fail in this, history will not judge countries of the region too kindly nor will the Somali people forgive us for not rallying around the only entity, the Transitional National Government, that symbolizes their determination, sacrifices and compromises. Somalia needs extensive repair work in human, material and moral terms. It hardly needs any interference or divisiveness; rather, it seeks cooperation, help, understanding and nation-building. For the international community, it is perhaps

appropriate to quote Nicholas Kristof, who, writing in his column in *The New York Times* on 5 February 2002, opined:

> "It is not even necessary to wrestle with the humanitarian argument for helping tottering countries. A number of countries, including Somalia, demonstrate the realpolitik merit of solving messes as they happen: If we leave countries to rot, eventually the rot spreads and comes back to infect us."

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*spoke in Arabic*): Undoubtedly, the decision to convene this meeting as an open meeting was appropriate and timely, as it has enabled the international community, on whose behalf the Security Council acts, to see and hear the Council working openly, not behind closed doors, a format that is in contravention of the admittedly provisional rules of procedure. That, however, is an issue that we might take up in a different context at another time.

At the outset, allow me to welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia and to wish him every success in his mission to the Security Council. This is his first personal visit following the formation of the Transitional National Government in his country.

In considering the Secretary-General's report, we note that it undertakes a comprehensive review of various issues and warns of many problems. The conclusions reached in the report, however, do not actually follow from the comprehensive review. For example, in paragraph 35, the report states that "The humanitarian situation in Somalia remains grave." Then, in paragraph 41, it refers to a complex challenge in the humanitarian sphere resulting from the security situation in the country. The report also states that the continuing situation in Somalia might turn the country into a haven for terrorists or a launching pad for terrorist organizations. It also reminds us, in paragraph 61, that "The Security Council has noted that the Arta peace process is the most viable basis for peace and national reconciliation in Somalia."

What has Arta produced? It has produced the Transitional National Government. Obviously, it follows that if the Arta process is the most viable basis, it must be built upon in order to complete the peace process and achieve national reconciliation in Somalia.

What, then, has been done by the Security Council, the ultimate body responsible for international peace and security? In fact, it disturbs us Africans that there are double standards in the work of the Security Council. When the issue concerns another continent, the Council even calls meetings on weekends. For example, when the issue is East Timor, the Security Council has met on a weekend. Many other issues receive the same treatment. Decisions are made and there is much ado; implementation is monitored daily, if not hourly. That is not the case with the situation in Africa, and we wonder why. Is Africa not a part of the United Nations? The Group of African States comprises 52 States, almost one third of the Organization's membership. Is it not enough for that continent to have endured such a long period of colonialism, with not only its natural resources but also its human wealth pillaged for centuries?

To those who say that the Organization's greatest expenditure is on peacekeeping operations in Africa, I would reply that three quarters of the Security Council's activities pertain to Africa. Three quarters of the Council's agenda, as stated by previous and current Council members, is devoted to Africa.

In order for Somalia to find stability, the Arta basis must be built upon. It would be illogical to say that we ought to leave it to the Somalis themselves. The people of Somalia, or at least some of them, are responsible for the situation in Somalia as it stands today. How can we expect the warlords, who lined their pockets as the result of wars, to relinquish benefits that they are convinced will continue as long as the current situation lasts? With peace, stability, a unified land and people and a strong central authority in Somalia, they will lose all of what they see as the benefits of the current situation.

The international community must stand shoulder to shoulder with the Transitional National Government, truly chosen by the majority of the people of Somalia. There is no alternative. The Security Council cannot remain neutral. Neutrality only strengthens the hand of the warlords or sends them an indirect message that the Security Council does not really care and that they may continue their warring activities in the country.

The shortest route to regaining stability in Somalia is to support the Transitional National Government and enable it to exert and extend its authority throughout Somalia. Ultimately, it is indeed transitional: it is not a permanent Government. When the transitional period ends, the people of Somalia will be able to elect their representatives and their legitimate Government at the ballot box. Unless we support the Transitional National Government through decisions and resolutions of the Security Council, how can we expect stability to return to Somalia?

The Security Council's situation reminds me of one man asking another, "Where is your ear?" and the other replying, "There it is", forgetting the closer of his two ears. The Security Council is doing the same thing: it is looking for a way, but one that is a dead end. The shortest and least costly way to restore stability to the Somali people is before the Council. As I said during the Council's meeting on the situation in Africa, my country had done its utmost, in cooperation with our brothers in Somalia, even before the Transitional National Government was formed. We summoned all the factions, and they met for the first time in Libya. We supported our brothers in Djibouti. We are now supporting the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the neighbouring countries, because we are confident that our brothers in Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya have a major role to play in restoring stability in Somalia. We are confident that they will spare no effort in achieving that goal. Stability in Somalia means stability for them. Instability in Somalia also means instability in neighbouring countries. Libya has given much and will continue to do so. During President Hassan's recent visit to Libya, agreement was reached that Libya would provide the funds necessary for the Transitional National Government to buy back weapons from the people. I hope that those weapons will be burned, just as they were burned after being collected in Sierra Leone.

As I mentioned earlier, Libya has set aside $7.5 million, through our foreign exchange bank, in agreement with our brothers in Mogadishu. We have also provided assistance of various kinds, including vehicles. We have helped to train police officers, and provided them with uniforms. We have assisted in the operation and expansion of power-generation plants. We have also lent assistance in the fisheries sector; we have had a longstanding policy on the import of livestock from Somalia following that country's independence; and we have also been cooperating actively in the area of agriculture.

A Sahelo-Saharan States conference was held in my country in which 18 countries participated, including Somalia, which is part of that subregional group. Indeed, the Minister for Foreign Affairs came here directly from that meeting in Tripoli.

The Conference expressed its support for the Transitional National Government in its efforts to rehabilitate and rebuild the State of Somalia. An appeal was made to the international community as a whole, to the United Nations and to African groups in particular to pool their efforts to promote dialogue aimed at reconciliation in Somalia and durable peace in the country.

I have transmitted to the Council today the resolutions of the conference. We hope that they will be issued as a document of the Security Council, whether relating to Somalia or to other regional issues.

Let me conclude by saying that I was truly delighted to hear the statements made by many members of the Security Council. For example, those by Singapore, Syria and France were more than encouraging and very important. Even if only a portion of those statements is implemented and followed up, the Security Council will have taken a first step on the right track as far as Somalia is concerned.

We hope that we will not find ourselves compelled to express our bitterness anew vis-à-vis the use of double standards. We Africans are very sensitive to this issue.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Kenya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Jalang'o (Kenya): I should like at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this extremely important meeting. It is indeed an honour for Kenya to be accorded the opportunity to address the Security Council. My delegation is therefore delighted to welcome the new Foreign Minister, Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, in our midst here today.

Kenya welcomes the comprehensive report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia. The report highlights recent political developments; regional and other peace initiatives; activities by the

Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Somalia, Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun; the humanitarian situation; other activities in support of the peace process; and post-conflict peace-building mechanisms in Somalia.

Kenya has been charged by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) with the responsibility to coordinate efforts towards reconciliation in Somalia. The report of the Secretary-General covers the efforts expended towards this end in its section II, part B, under the title "Regional and other initiatives". My delegation fully associates itself with the highlights of the report, especially paragraphs 14 to 18.

In the debate on the situation in Africa held in this Chamber on 30 January, I gave an update on the efforts of IGAD in the quest for peace in Somalia which tallies with the report before us. I will therefore not bore the Council by reiterating aspects of those efforts which have been adequately covered.

I would like, however, to re-emphasize that on 25 December 2001, three separate agreements were signed in Nairobi, between the Transitional National Government on the one hand and the United Somali Congress/Somali Salvation Alliance (USC/SSA), the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) and the Somali National Alliance (SNA) on the other. Those agreements are a positive indication that IGAD's efforts in the search for peace and reconciliation in Somalia are continuing to gather momentum.

As mandated by the 9th IGAD Summit, held in Khartoum in January, the IGAD Foreign Ministers Committee on Somalia met in Nairobi on 14 February and agreed to convene a National Reconciliation Conference in the second half of April this year, in furtherance of the Arta process. All parties to the conflict are expected to attend without preconditions, and we appeal to the Council to lend its total and undivided support.

In the course of efforts to ensure full participation in the April meeting, Kenya has been informed that a meeting of the SRRC was held in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia, from 27 February to 1 March 2002. It is hoped that all future meetings of this nature will be guided by the IGAD Foreign Ministers Committee and its Technical Committee.

In paragraph 61 of his report, the Secretary-General notes that he has detected a divergence of views among the member States of IGAD regarding national reconciliation in Somalia. While this might have appeared to be the case in the past, Kenya, as coordinator, wishes to assure the Council that a lot of progress has been made since the 9th IGAD Summit and that increasingly we are witnessing a convergence, rather than a divergence, of views.

To facilitate the achievement of faster progress, the IGAD Foreign Ministers have established a Technical Committee comprising front-line States and the IGAD secretariat, with a secretariat in Nairobi to be staffed on a permanent basis. That office needs the Council's support.

IGAD member States welcome the proposal of the Secretary-General to establish a Committee of Friends of Somalia, to be based in Nairobi and chaired by his Representative, as well as the setting up of a similar Committee in New York to meet periodically under the chairmanship of the Under-Secretary-General. In total, it is evident that the focus on Somalia has been heightened, and it is up to the people of Somalia to demonstrate maturity and take advantage of the current good will.

Kenya, as a neighbour of Somalia, will continue to discharge her fraternal duty to assist Somalia. Indeed, Kenya has no doubt that, as charged by IGAD, all involved parties — the regional group, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations, the IGAD Partners Forum and the Committee of Friends — will go an extra mile to assist Somalia in the current peace process, humanitarian assistance and the improvement of general security.

Finally, Kenya has no doubt that the neighbours and friends of Somalia will play an impartial and constructive role in efforts to end the longstanding problem of the lack of a central administration in Somalia for the last 10 years and its attendant dangers for the region and the international community.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Tessema (Ethiopia): I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council

for the month of March. We welcome this opportunity to exchange information and views with Council members in particular, and the international community at large on the effort to bring lasting peace to Somalia.

I would also like to join those who spoke before me in welcoming Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional National Government of Somalia, who is here among us. I would also like to welcome and recognize Mr. Winston Tubman, the newly appointed Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, and wish him great success. I want to take this opportunity to assure Mr. Tubman of the full cooperation of my Government in discharging his very heavy responsibility.

Ethiopia commends the Secretary-General for his report on the security situation in Somalia and for his tireless efforts towards and support for peace in Somalia. We welcome the observations and the recommendations of the Secretary-General on the overall situation in that country and on the peace process.

The situation in Somalia needs a comprehensive approach. The establishment of a broad-based Government in Somalia as urgently as possible is not only in the interest of the Somalis themselves but also in the vital interest of the countries of the subregion, and that of the international community as a whole.

The IGAD peace process adopted at the 9th Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Summit of the Heads of State and Government on Somalia on 11 January 2002, and further elaborated by the communiqué issued following the IGAD Foreign Ministers committee meeting on Somalia on 14 February 2002, has this basic purpose and plan at its very centre. We believe the consensus achieved by the IGAD countries has laid the basis for coordination among the IGAD countries for peace in Somalia and for harmonizing their position to this end. We strongly hope that this encouraging and positive step by the IGAD countries to bring about lasting peace in Somalia will enjoy the full support and cooperation of the Security Council in particular and the international community in general.

Ethiopia hopes that the combined readiness of the IGAD countries and the international community to make a real difference for peace and the establishment of a broad-based Government in Somalia is bound to lead to a breakthrough and bear fruit. We do not see or have any other option to this end. We have proved for the last 11 years that various efforts, including the Arta process, have failed to achieve peace and to establish an all-inclusive and broad-based Government in Somalia.

Throughout these past 11 years, what various peace efforts in Somalia had to contend with was a structural logjam in the country created by those who have a stake in the status quo and who benefited from the state of anarchy and from the statelessness of Somalis. This structural logjam in peacemaking in Somalia, which external actors were unable and unwilling to remove, must come to an end. We believe Somalis have no other option but peace and an end to a decade of anarchy. As stated by the press release issued by the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) at the end of its meeting held in the city of Dire Dawa, Ethiopia, on 1 March 2002, in which they agreed to participate in the upcoming meeting,

> "There is no other option for all Somali parties than to commit themselves to fighting terrorism and establishing a broad-based and viable government for Somalia."

In view of this, as adopted by the 9th IGAD Head of State and Government Summit in Khartoum, we call upon all Somali parties and groups to participate in the forthcoming IGAD Foreign Ministers committee meeting in Nairobi on the basis of equality and without any preconditions for solving the crisis in Somalia. Ethiopia is fully committed to support such an outcome, which will work towards the establishment of an all-inclusive and broad-based Government for Somalia. Ethiopia strongly calls upon all concerned States in the subregion and those outside the subregion to contribute constructively to the peace efforts in Somalia. We once again appeal to this Council to continue its support and to encourage the regional peace process being under taken by IGAD.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Norway.

First of all, I would like to express Norway's support for the Arta peace process, which continues to be the most viable basis for peace and national reconciliation in Somalia. The objective of the Arta process, however, has not yet been fully achieved. Norway urges the Transitional National Government, other de facto authorities, as well as all political and

traditional leaders in Somalia, to continuously make every effort to complete, without preconditions, the peace and reconciliation process. This should be done through dialogue and involvement of all parties in a spirit of mutual accommodation and tolerance, with a view to establishing an all-inclusive Government in Somalia, based on devolution of power.

Norway is encouraged by the attention and importance that the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) heads of State gave to the need for national reconciliation in Somalia at the Khartoum summit in January this year. We fully support the decision taken by the IGAD Foreign Ministers committee on Somalia to convene a national reconciliation conference in the second half of April this year. We believe that this new and constructive joint involvement by Ethiopia, Djibouti and Kenya might be a significant step forward towards rehabilitation and restoration of peace and stability in Somalia.

Despite this cautious optimism, I must say that Norway is deeply concerned about the recent fighting in Mogadishu and in the Gedo region. These acts of violence are serious obstacles to the peace process in Somalia. It is in this context of vital importance that all States and other actors comply scrupulously with the arms embargo established by resolution 733 (1992). Revitalizing the arms embargo through the establishment of a monitoring mechanism should be a priority to this end.

Norway is deeply concerned about the humanitarian situation in Somalia, in particular in the Gedo and Bari regions. I would like in particular to draw attention to the urgent need for international assistance in covering food and water shortfalls, and to further underline the fact that longer-term intervention will be required to build sustainable solutions.

Norway notes with satisfaction that the United Nations, the Red Cross and the Red Crescent movements, as well as other non-governmental organizations, continue to provide humanitarian and development assistance to all areas of Somalia. We call upon all parties in Somalia to respect fully the security and safety of the personnel of the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other non-governmental organizations, and to guarantee their complete freedom of movement and access throughout Somalia.

Support from the international community to contribute to improving the economic, humanitarian, political and security situation in Somalia is of the utmost importance. This will not only benefit the people of Somalia, but will also contribute to peaceful development at the regional level in the Horn of Africa and reinforce the global effort to counter international terrorism.

I would like to take this opportunity to encourage all Member States to respond urgently and generously to the United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for 2002.

While acknowledging the conclusions of the recent security assessment, and thus recognizing that a peace-building mission for Somalia cannot yet be launched, Norway encourages the Secretary-General to make greater efforts to ensure that the peace dividend aspect of targeted assistance is fully exploited. The further expansion of United Nations programmes, through humanitarian and development projects, as well as specific peace-building activities, should be a priority.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional National Government of Somalia.

Mr. Ibrahim (Somalia): I would like to express my thanks to the members of the Security Council for their useful input in today's debate. I also thank the non-Council members for their statements and their contributions to the debate.

On the issue of the forthcoming peace and reconciliation conference in Nairobi, we are of the opinion that we should not prejudge the outcome in a negative way. The Somali issue should be viewed in a holistic manner. The Security Council should take a unified position of support for the forthcoming Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) process.

With regard to the security position in Somalia, a multiple-track approach would, in our opinion, be the most appropriate track, providing the Transitional National Government with the necessary resources and tools, first, to enhance security in Mogadishu and other areas in Somalia; secondly, to ensure the strict enforcement of the sanctions regime regarding the

illegal influx of weapons and arms; thirdly, to sustain a continuous contribution to the campaign against terrorism; and fourthly, to sustain support for the IGAD-sponsored peace process and send a very strong signal to the warlords that their failure to contribute positively to the peace process will result in punitive measures against them.

We believe that the Security Council and the international community must be forward-looking and start thinking about putting in place a massive rehabilitation and reconstruction programme for Somalia.

I want to reiterate that, for our part, the Transitional National Government will seriously pursue peace and national reconciliation in Somalia. We pledge to continue to fully cooperate with the Counter-Terrorism Committee and bilaterally in combating terrorism.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4488

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4488th meeting

Tuesday, 12 March 2002, 10.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Kolby	(Norway)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Mbayu
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Salazar
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zínser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

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02-28233 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Israel, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lancry (Israel) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: I should also like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 12 March 2002 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, which will be issued as document S/2002/256 and which reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to request that, in accordance with its previous practice, the Security Council invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations to participate in the meeting of the Security Council to be held today, Tuesday, 12 March 2002, regarding the situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territory."

I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to participate in the meeting, in accordance with the rules of procedure and with previous practice in this regard.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and I give him the floor.

The Secretary-General: Three weeks ago, I briefed the Security Council on the situation in the Middle East. I warned then that we were nearing the abyss. Since that day, the toll of the dead and wounded, particularly among innocent civilians, has risen to levels that can be described, without exaggeration, as appalling.

Israeli-Palestinian tensions are at boiling point. The situation is the worst in 10 years. Escalation has been met with escalation with little and, in some cases, no regard for innocent civilian lives. Acts that are disproportionate in scale and indiscriminate in their effect are occurring on an almost daily basis.

The scale of the carnage is horrifying. Since the beginning of the current crisis in September 2000, there have been some 1,200 fatalities among the Palestinians. More than 180 of them have occurred in the last 10 days. On the Israeli side, out of some 350 fatalities, well over 50 have occurred in the same 10 days. I grieve, as we all must, for the families of those who have lost their lives or have been maimed or wounded. I grieve for Israel and Palestine.

In giving the Council my assessment of the situation on the ground, I would like to start by saying that I am profoundly disturbed by the increasing use of heavy weaponry by Israel in civilian areas. It has made life even more difficult and precarious for Palestinian civilians, who were already subjected to severe physical and economic hardships.

Large-scale military operations in pursuit of Palestinian militants — involving ground troops, attack helicopters, tanks and F-16s — have taken place throughout civilian areas and refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza, causing large-scale loss of life. In addition, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other agencies are reporting growing disregard on the part of the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) for the safety of medical and ambulance personnel who are attempting to treat and evacuate wounded from conflict zones. Only last week, a United Nations staff member was killed in a clearly marked ambulance of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

On the other side, the Palestinians have played their full part in the escalating cycle of violence, counter-violence and revenge. Palestinian groups have carried out a series of attacks on Israeli military and civilian targets. They have attacked IDF checkpoints

and settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. Kassam II rockets have been launched against civilian areas in Israeli towns. I am particularly disturbed by suicide attacks which deliberately target civilians, spreading fear and anxiety throughout the general population.

Against this backdrop, I very much welcome the decision of the United States to send General Zinni back to the region. Both Chairman Arafat and Prime Minister Sharon have taken steps to facilitate his efforts. Mr. Arafat has finally arrested all those suspected of involvement in the assassination of Rehavam Zeevi, the Israeli Tourism Minister. Mr. Sharon has wisely given up his demand for seven days of calm before beginning negotiations.

I hope both leaders will engage constructively with General Zinni in a renewed and intensified dialogue on the political, security and economic dimensions of the peace process. The alternative for both sides is continued bloodshed, delaying even further the prospects for an end to the occupation and the violence.

At this time, I feel I must speak directly to the people and leaders of both sides.

To the Palestinians I say: you have the inalienable right to a viable State within secure, internationally recognized borders, but you must stop all acts of terror and all suicide bombings. The deliberate and indiscriminate targeting of civilians is morally repugnant. It is doing immense harm to your cause by weakening international support and making Israelis believe that it is their existence as a State, and not the occupation, that is being opposed.

To the Israelis I say: you have the right to live in peace and security within secure, internationally recognized borders, but you must end the illegal occupation. More urgently, you must stop the bombing of civilian areas, the assassinations, the unnecessary use of lethal force, the demolitions and the daily humiliation of ordinary Palestinians. Such actions gravely erode Israel's standing in the international community and further fuel the fires of hatred, despair and extremism among Palestinians.

To the leaders on both sides — Prime Minister Sharon and Chairman Arafat in particular — I say: you can still lead your peoples away from disaster. You have accepted the Tenet understandings and the Mitchell recommendations as the basis for negotiations. Today, more than ever, you must recognize that security and a political settlement are indivisible. One cannot exist without the other. Many of your friends stand ready to support you if you seize this opportunity.

In closing, let me say that the recent initiative by Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia sets out a clear and compelling vision for peace in the Middle East based on the bedrock of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). I appeal to the leaders of the Arab world not to give up on the search for peace, but rather to unite in support of this vision, showing the world and the parties that there is an alternative to war.

I call on Mr. Arafat and Mr. Sharon immediately to take the necessary political, security and economic steps on the ground that can help realize this vision. Finally, I call on the Security Council to lend its full authority and influence to the vital cause of peace.

The President: There is no other speaker for this meeting.

The meeting rose at 11 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.4489

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4489th meeting

Tuesday, 12 March 2002, 11.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Kolby	(Norway)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Mbayu
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

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02-28353 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

The President: In accordance with the decision taken under rule 37 at the 4488th meeting this morning, I invite the representative of Israel to take a seat at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lancry (Israel) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: In accordance with the decision taken at the 4488th meeting this morning, I invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to take a seat at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2002/259, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United States of America.

I would like to draw attention to a revision to the sixth preambular paragraph, namely, to add the words "and others" after the words "the United Nations Special Coordinator".

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): The Arab Group submitted a draft resolution which it believes to be simple and capable of meeting the aspirations of the international community. It would avoid complications and address the situation on the ground and the tragic events in the region brought about by Israel's killing and destruction of the Palestinian people, despite all the flexibility shown by the Arab side. Unfortunately, this flexibility was not matched by those who submitted the draft resolution before us, which fails to take Arab concerns into consideration. This draft resolution is very weak and does not address the root of the question: the Israeli occupation. That is the issue to which the Secretary-General referred in his statement today.

This draft resolution treats killer and victim equally, which is particularly egregious in view of the practices of the occupation authorities against the Palestinian people. The destruction, the killings and the detention of more than 2,000 Palestinians in massive concentration camps by the Israeli occupation forces must be condemned by the Council.

Any discussion of security arrangements in this crisis situation merely underlines the failure of such arrangements, as has been testified to by many countries. They have been superseded by time, particularly in view of the massacres committed daily by Israel in the occupied territories, especially in the densely populated Palestinian refugee camps.

The Security Council must call for the resumption of the peace process and for a comprehensive and just peace, pursuant to the outcome of the Madrid Conference and based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the principle of land for peace. It must also call on Israel to implement those resolutions and the principle of land for peace. Otherwise, those resolutions will remain unimplemented. I do not believe that the Council wants to see that happen.

In conclusion, we regret that the draft resolution does not even minimally take our concerns into consideration in a way that would prompt us to support it — that is, by including a reference to the Madrid Conference, the peace process and a just and comprehensive peace in the region. We have sought this in all sincerity. Moreover, the draft resolution does not demand that Israel, the occupying Power, respect the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949. That is the basic message we have called on the Council to send to the Israeli occupying Power.

In view of these points, which were not included in the draft resolution before us, I wish to record that the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic will abstain in the voting on the draft resolution before us.

The President: I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote, as orally revised.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bulgaria, Cameroon, China, Colombia, France, Guinea, Ireland, Mauritius, Mexico, Norway, Russian Federation, Singapore, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstentions:

Syrian Arab Republic

The President: The draft resolution received 14 votes in favour, none against and 1 abstention. The draft resolution, as orally revised, has been adopted as resolution 1397 (2002).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12 midnight.

United Nations S/PV.4490

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4490th meeting

Wednesday, 13 March 2002, 10.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Kolby	(Norway)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Mbayu
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Mauritius	Mr. Jingree
	Mexico	Ms. Lajous
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

The situation in Afghanistan

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02-28405 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Afghanistan

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Sir Kieran Prendergast, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs.

It is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Sir Kieran Prendergast, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, to whom I give the floor.

Sir Kieran Prendergast: Before I begin this update, Mr. President, allow me say how pleased I am that we have with us Mr. Jean Arnault, whom the Secretary-General has appointed to succeed Mr. Francesc Vendrell as Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Political Affairs for Afghanistan. He will leave shortly for Kabul, where he will have to deal first-hand with the complicated and fast-changing situation in Afghanistan, whose main elements I shall now try to describe.

The Interim Administration faces the substantial challenge of expanding its authority throughout the country. To date, its influence outside Kabul has been limited. Three major conferences in the last week, however, have brought important Afghan figures from the provinces to the capital, and they constitute a promising sign that a process of greater engagement between Kabul and Afghanistan's 32 provinces has begun.

The first meeting was convened to discuss the major security questions facing the country. It was attended by Ismael Khan, General Dostum and Atta Mohammad, as well as a senior representative of Abdul Karim Khalili and other commanders from around the country. Although the participants at the meeting embraced the principle of disarmament, the commanders expressed a reluctance to disarm and demobilize as long as remnants of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda remained active. The conference established a commission, which agreed to send 200 men from each of Afghanistan's 32 provinces for the national army training courses, which the United States will run beginning in April. The commission plans to hold monthly meetings, and delegations from the commission will be sent to visit the regions.

The second conference, a meeting of governors, was held from 10 to 13 March. The Minister of the Interior, Mr. Yunus Qanooni, opened the conference with an agenda-setting speech calling for security and the rule of law, the establishment of a national police force, a war on drugs and terrorism and respect for the human rights of all ethnic groups. One of the aims of the conference was to obtain the governors' approval for a national political structure that tied the regions into the centre. At present, the absence of central authority, compounded by the delay in the payment of the salaries of civil servants in the provinces, means that the local police and administrations operate more or less independently of the capital.

The third conference, funded by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and organized by the Afghan education ministry, brought together 91 Afghan educational experts from 26 provinces for a two-day seminar on the future direction of education in Afghanistan.

Two landmark events held in Kabul last week demonstrated the progress made and freedoms advanced in the field of gender equality and human rights since the fall of the Taliban regime. For the first time in 11 years, International Women's Day was celebrated in Kabul. More than 800 Afghan women from Kabul and the provinces, as well as from United Nations agencies, the donor community and non-governmental organizations, gathered to pay tribute to the courage of Afghan women. The celebration was held in the ruins of a theatre that had been burned down a few years ago only because it bore the name of a woman: Zainab, a prominent Afghan poet and intellectual.

The contribution of women to the war against terrorism was specifically recognized by Chairman Karzai, who referred to two Afghan women radio broadcasters who, through their daily reporting, had

demoralized Taliban soldiers. Mr. Brahimi emphasized peace as a precondition to restoring women's and girls' rights, while Dr. Sima Samar, Minister for Women's Affairs, called for the unity of women around the world and of Afghan women in the struggle against social injustice. Dr. Noeleen Heyzer, Executive Director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women, recognized the contribution of women who worked in various United Nations programmes, despite restrictions imposed by the Taliban, and highlighted several key priorities in support of women, including security, the rule of law, governance, women's economic security and poverty eradication.

The day after International Women's Day, the first Afghan national workshop on human rights was convened, bringing together representatives of the Interim Administration, the Loya Jirga Commission and civil society from around the country, to undertake joint planning for the implementation of the human rights provisions of the Bonn Accords and, most importantly, the establishment of a human rights commission. The workshop was opened by Mrs. Mary Robinson, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Mrs. Robinson pledged technical and financial support for the establishment of the independent human rights commission, as well as for the activities of the various Afghan human rights working groups established at the national workshop.

The Loya Jirga Commission has continued to conduct extensive consultations. A visit to the Commission is now a central part of the itinerary of Afghan groups travelling from the provinces to Kabul to petition the authorities. Hundreds of people pass through the office each week. Widespread concerns continue to be expressed, however, about the possible impact of intimidation by authorities and armed groups on the loya jirga process. Nepotism and the abuse of patronage is widespread, and many Pashtuns, intellectuals and non-fighters are complaining that they have been sidelined.

Many visitors to the Commission say that they see the loya jirga as an opportunity for them to rejoin the political process. Feedback from Kandahar and the south-west of the country indicates that people there are ill-informed and feel excluded. As a result, members of the Commission, accompanied by United Nations staff, will soon be visiting that region and holding a series of mass meetings.

The Commission is working on the drafting procedures for the convening of the loya jirga and has just completed drawing up two detailed logistical plans, the first requesting help from the United Nations for the organization of indirect elections, and the second requesting support for the organization of the loya jirga meeting itself.

I would like now to turn to the security and military situation. Aside from the ongoing heavy fighting between coalition forces and Al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters in the south-eastern part of the country, the rest of Afghanistan remains relatively calm. However, the appearance of improving security conceals festering tensions beneath the surface. The power of armed groups is growing, and disarmament programmes in some areas amount to commanders disarming their enemies and rearming themselves. In the north, an uneasy peace exists between the Jumbesh and Jamiat factions. Both sides have been distributing arms. In the west there have been reports that the military are collecting unused ammunition and explosives to stock their arsenals. Several demining organizations have reported that local forces have confiscated explosives and ammunition that deminers were removing for destruction.

It is becoming more and more apparent that alternative sources of income need to be found for the mujahedin and the large number of armed men in Afghanistan. There is already evidence that soldiers have started to resort to crime. Many more say that they plan to do so in order to survive. They feel that they have no other options, and they see little evidence of a peace dividend that would provide them with an alternative to life by the gun.

This issue is being addressed at a number of levels. The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) conducted meetings with key commanders in Kabul and with the Ministry of Defence with a view to developing a disarmament plan. It was recognized, however, that a longer-term study was necessary, and that whatever initiatives are undertaken must be synchronized with the training programme of the new national army. At the same time, preparations are being made by the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Organization for Migration to undertake a mission to Afghanistan to assess the technical aspects of a demobilization and reintegration programme.

In the immediate term, the UNDP Recovery Employment Afghanistan Programme is about to begin. This programme, funded by the Japanese Government, will provide $3 million worth of labour-intensive public works projects in Kabul, and will employ more than 20,000 people for the next six months. We are very grateful to the Government of Japan for their generosity and vision.

As I noted, the questions of demobilization, disarmament and reintegration are linked to the issue of creating a national army. Ironically, initiatives on army training could have the unintended effect of causing new security problems, rather than solving existing ones, if soldiers not admitted into the army join informal armed groups that offer them money. This would worsen the already difficult problem for the Interim Administration of wresting power from autonomous commanders in the provinces.

Another key problem which needs to be addressed is the payment of salaries to the Afghan armed forces. No formal payments have been made, and it is still unclear how the units trained by ISAF and the United States will be paid.

Still with regard to security, the persecution of Pashtuns in the northern provinces and stories of physical and sexual abuse, extortion and the confiscation of lands and belongings are disquieting. Refugees from the area continue to arrive at the Pakistani border. The High Commissioner for Human Rights on her visit to Afghanistan last week heard first-hand from some of the victims. Both the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner joined the Chairman of the Interim Administration, Mr. Karzai, in condemning the attacks and called for the human rights of these communities to be respected. Chairman Karzai sent a special independent commission to visit the area, and they are expected to release their report shortly. Local authorities in the north have promised to act rapidly to put an end to the abuses.

As part of a series of ongoing diplomatic initiatives to tie Afghanistan into the international community, a meeting of the "six plus two" informal group on Afghanistan met at the ambassadorial level in Kabul on 11 March. As the Council knows, this group consists of the six countries that are contiguous to Afghanistan, plus the United States and the Russian Federation. It was a historic meeting, with Afghanistan, represented by Foreign Minister Abdullah Abdullah, attending for the first time. It was also the first time that the meeting of this group was held on Afghanistan's territory. The group expressed the renewed commitment of their respective Governments to supporting the efforts of the Interim Administration and the people of Afghanistan to establish security and reinforce peace and stability throughout the country. The group has decided to hold meetings on a monthly basis in Kabul.

I should like to turn for a moment to the question of police. The need to establish a national police force remains one of the highest priorities for the Interim Administration. The Interior Ministry has been very proactive, and the staff of the police academy have devised a national plan for police training. In addition to the two-week intensive training course for 3,200 new recruits — that is to say, 100 from each province — the plan includes a long-term training package for serving police officers. A two-day "train-the-trainer" course is being prepared by ISAF and the Ministry of the Interior. A donor conference on drug control and support for the Afghan police will take place in Berlin tomorrow and Friday, 14 and 15 March, and will be attended by the United Nations Special Mission for Afghanistan Police Adviser.

A word on the humanitarian situation. Humanitarian assistance to the people of Afghanistan is increasing as the ability of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations to obtain access to people in need grows. Basic, life-saving tasks continue to demand the resources and time of the assistance community, even as the emphasis turns towards recovery and reconstruction needs.

The Interim Authority continues to stress the importance of immediate assistance. At a meeting of the Afghanistan .Support Group, on 4 March, four priority areas were identified: the nutrition crisis, the return of refugees and internally displaced persons, mine action and the back-to-school programme.

Meanwhile, an earthquake struck Afghanistan on 3 March, affecting Kabul and three main areas: Samangan, Gulbahar and Badakshan. Aid agencies provided immediate assistance and facilitated the visit of Chairman Karzai and Mr. Brahimi to the worst-affected site, in Surkunda valley in Samangan. The earthquake triggered a landslide, which buried 100 houses and killed at least 70 people. The landslide also

blocked the river, creating flooding that threatened housing and an important road link. In addition, about 10,000 people living downstream are totally deprived of drinking water as a result. A technical team, assisted by ISAF, has been working since 5 March to stabilize the water level and reduce the flooding.

The United Nations is concerned by reports of widespread malnutrition in many drought-affected areas and areas hitherto inaccessible owing to security constraints. It is likely that many lives could be lost, especially those of children, if rapid action is not taken. While it is clear that the magnitude of the crisis would be substantially greater if this food aid had not been made available, the assistance community now needs to focus on more targeted assistance and support to the Government's efforts to resolve the crisis. A task force of the United Nations, non-governmental organizations and the Ministry of Public Health is undertaking a series of emergency assessments in the districts where malnutrition has been identified.

With regard to refugees, following the implementation of the first stages of the Bonn process, UNHCR has begun a facilitated refugee return programme from Pakistan. Nearly 14,000 Afghans returned from Pakistan during the first week of this programme. This brings the total number of spontaneous and facilitated returns from Pakistan since the beginning of the year to between 50,000 and 70,000. Since the start of the year, more than 23,000 refugees have returned from Iran.

Assistance continues to be given to the 950,000 internally displaced persons spread throughout the country. Surveys indicate that many people prefer to delay their return home until the security or drought situation improves. However, in Kabul, 16,000 internally displaced persons living in the former Soviet compound have started to return to the Shomali plain area.

As a last but by no means least word, I am pleased to be able to inform the Council that we have received a draft of the Secretary-General's report, and the final version of it will be submitted to the Council next week.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I should now like to invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussions on the subject.

The meeting rose at 11 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.4491

Security Council

Distr.: General
14 March 2002

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4491st (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Thursday, 14 March 2002, at 10 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 14 March 2002, the Security Council, pursuant to Annex II, Section A of resolution 1353 (2001), held its 4491st meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE).

"The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries heard briefings under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations and Major-General Patrick Cammaert, Force Commander of the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

"The members of the Council had a constructive exchange of views with representatives of participating troop-contributing countries."

02-28614 (E) 140302

United Nations S/PV.4492

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4492nd meeting

Friday, 15 March 2002, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Kolby	(Norway)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mrs. Mahouve Same
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Franco
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Fall
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mauritius	Mr. Gokool
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Karev
	Singapore	Ms. Foo
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Protection of civilians in armed conflict

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

02-28785 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Protection of civilians in armed conflict

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Kenzo Oshima, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Oshima to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing from Mr. Kenzo Oshima, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator. I invite Mr. Oshima to take the floor.

Mr. Oshima: I would first like to thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to address the Council once again on the issue of the protection of civilians in armed conflict.

I am aware of concerns relating to the number of thematic issues brought to the Council's attention in recent years. Given the daily threat to civilians in many conflicts around the world, however, I believe that it is critical to keep this important issue high — and firmly — on the Council's agenda. It is important that decisive and timely action be taken to end the suffering of millions of innocent victims of warfare, including many women and children.

Take the Middle East, for example, where the escalation of violence has resulted in many civilian casualties over the past few days alone. In his statement to the Council on 12 March, the Secretary-General indicated that "the toll of the dead and wounded, particularly among innocent civilians, has risen to levels that can be described, without exaggeration, as appalling" (*S/PV.4488, p. 2*). He specifically emphasized that the use of heavy weaponry by Israel in civilian areas has made life even more difficult and precarious for Palestinian civilians, who were already subjected to severe physical and economic hardships, and that it must stop. Also, he told the Palestinians that the deliberate and indiscriminate targeting of Israeli civilians is morally repugnant. He said that acts of terror and suicide bombings must stop. Against this backdrop, Security Council resolution 1397 (2002) represents a crucial step in reconfirming the need to ensure the safety of civilians and to ensure respect for universally accepted norms of international humanitarian law in the context of the Middle East. Our concerns, however, remain.

Or take the Sudan, where we have collectively been dismayed by the recent pattern of attacks on civilians, humanitarian workers and facilities, including the shameful attacks on civilians gathered at or near food distribution sites. The United Nations has voiced its serious concern about these attacks, and one of the key donors to that country — the United States — subsequently put on hold the implementation of the Danforth plan, aimed at increasing humanitarian access in the Sudan, until such time as the Government of Sudan demonstrates its commitment to investigate the incidents and put remedial measures in place. Therefore, we welcome the 10 March agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement to establish an international verification mission to investigate reports of attacks on unarmed civilians. We await concrete results.

In Angola, more than a third of the population — approximately 4.6 million people currently — is displaced as a result of a conflict which has lasted for more than 30 years. Further displacement has occurred over the past few weeks since my last briefing to the Council, in part due to the military strategy of the Government. The declaration of a ceasefire by the Government on 13 March, therefore, is ground-breaking news. We are monitoring its implementation, and I call upon the Council's commitment and support in that respect.

In this context, I would like to comment on the serious allegations of sexual exploitation of children in refugee camps in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea. Like the Secretary-General, I am deeply disturbed by these allegations. As members are aware, the

Secretary-General has directed that these allegations be investigated as thoroughly and urgently as possible and that remedial action aimed at strengthening the protection of women and children be taken as necessary. He has also reiterated a policy of zero tolerance for any such acts perpetrated by anyone employed by or affiliated with the United Nations. As a result, the Office of Internal Oversight Services immediately launched an investigation into the allegations with the aim of recommending remedial action against any individuals found to have perpetrated any such act. The result of the investigation will be made public in a report to the General Assembly. Also, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), protection personnel and senior field managers have been tasked to undertake immediate measure to enhance the protection of children in refugee camps in West Africa and other places.

Additionally, in my capacity as the Emergency Relief Coordinator, I have urged the development by relevant agencies of measures and policies to prevent transgressions against the very women and children they are serving, in close collaboration with the Inter-Agency Standing Committee and with the humanitarian coordinators in the field. As a first step, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, on Wednesday of this week, created a task force aimed at developing quick proposals to enhance immediately the protection of children in refugee camps from sexual abuse.

While these problems and situations, among others, continue to demand our most pressing attention, it is important not to lose sight of the progress that has been made in enhancing the protection of civilians in recent years, both by the Council and by the international community more widely, including numerous non-governmental organizations.

First, on the progress side, the Security Council's past consideration of the issue has in many cases resulted in a tangible mitigation of human suffering. For example, child and gender advisors have been incorporated into peacekeeping missions. Recent Council resolutions have increasingly advocated safe and unimpeded humanitarian access to vulnerable populations. The Council is also considering sanctions that are more targeted, and are designed to limit their unintended humanitarian impact. It should be noted that the Council's consideration of the issue of protection has increased awareness within and outside the United Nations system of the many different steps and initiatives that can be taken to alleviate human suffering and, thereby, has expanded its "toolbox" when responding to conflicts around the world. Indeed, the principles and standards advocated and set by the United Nations system have contributed in many places to directly enhancing the protection of civilians.

Secondly, in the spirit at least of the 54 recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's two reports on the subject matter, many positive initiatives have been undertaken to enhance the protection of vulnerable populations on the ground. I would just like to note a few of them.

In Sierra Leone, some 46,500 combatants have been demobilized and disarmed, in recognition of the importance of improved security conditions for building a lasting peace. They are now ready to be reintegrated into their communities. Together with the establishment of a Special Court to try serious crimes committed in the past and of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, this initiative constitutes a significant signal towards peace and stability in the region.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, UNHCR and the United Nations Observer Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo have jointly separated more than 1,000 former combatants and their families from the larger civilian refugee population and have transferred them to a new location. These efforts are essential to preserving the civilian nature of refugee camps and to ensuring the safety and security of refugees and surrounding populations.

As the third point on the positive side, I would like to note that the increased dialogue and partnerships among agencies, through coordinated efforts, are producing encouraging results. My own Office, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), has convened a working group of United Nations humanitarian agencies that is developing guidelines for aid workers on the terms of their engagement with armed groups in providing humanitarian assistance and protection. The guidelines will based on best practices and international humanitarian and human rights law. The goal is to ensure common standards for humanitarian workers when engaging in a structured dialogue with these groups to gain access to vulnerable populations and the necessary space for humanitarian operations.

Similarly, the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Department of Political Affairs have set up an inter-agency working group that is looking into child protection issues within United Nations peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building processes. An informal working group on training for peacekeepers has also been convened by UNICEF, the Office of the Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict and a Swedish non-governmental organization to produce a training package on child protection issues, which will be used by all United Nations peace operations.

Finally, we are gratified that progress has been made in the ratification of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict. The International Criminal Court is only five more ratifications away from its entry into force.

All of these initiatives highlight the progress that has been made in our efforts to improve the protection of civilians, but they also demonstrate the continuing need to keep this issue on the Council's agenda.

We realize that progress in implementing the measures referred to in the Secretary-General's recommendations depends on the extent to which the issue is being mainstreamed into the daily work of the Organization — within both the Council and the Secretariat. In this regard, I am pleased to inform the Council about the progress made on two significant initiatives: first, the development of the aide-memoire; and secondly, the agreement on standard operating procedures between OCHA and DPKO to facilitate closer cooperation on issues related to the protection of civilians in the design of peacekeeping operations. Both measures were, of course, requested by the President of the Council in his letter addressed to the Secretary-General dated 21 June 2001.

First, in an unprecedented example of interactive cooperation between the Council and the Secretariat, an aide-memoire has been developed that will serve as a checklist to Council members when considering the establishment, change or close of a peacekeeping operation. The aide-memoire represents the accumulated expertise of many entities within and outside the United Nations system, most notably DPKO, OCHA, UNHCR, UNICEF, the World Food Programme and other key humanitarian and human rights partners.

It was the subject of extensive consultations, at the expert level, with the members of the Council. In this respect, I would like to commend Norway for its wise leadership and hospitality when guiding the informal discussions. I am also gratified by the strong working relationship and collaborative spirit that were fostered by the Secretariat and the Security Council throughout this process.

Jointly, we have striven to create a document that is both concise and informative, while at the same time remaining practical and applicable to the wide range of situations and requirements emerging in the course of an armed conflict. It is intended as a "living" document that will be regularly updated in a continuing, collaborative effort between the Council and the Secretariat.

The aide-memoire identifies 13 core objectives for protecting civilians in armed conflict and the corresponding key issues for consideration in meeting those objectives. It also contains a list of references to previous country-specific and thematic Security Council resolutions and presidential statements pertaining to each of those objectives. This is intended to serve as a quick and easy reference guide for Council members when developing a peacekeeping mandate. It may also serve as a piece of institutional memory for Council members. For the Secretariat, it will also serve as a relevant checklist and guide us as we undertake our daily work and report on the protection of civilians, both in the field and at Headquarters.

The aide-memoire also addresses another request by the Council. I recall that, during my briefing last November, some Council members asked me to consider ways of integrating four interrelated thematic discussions, namely, the protection of civilians in armed conflict; women, peace and security; children in armed conflict; and conflict prevention. In my view, the aide-memoire will provide, at least in part, a useful framework for the consideration of these interrelated, complementary issues.

Lastly, we intend to hold workshops and training sessions on the issue of the protection of civilians — including on the practical application of the aide-memoire — for our field staff, mid-level government

officials, academic institutions and practitioners in various parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the coming months in order to move protection issues further into the mainstream of decision-making and policy development. We look forward to the active participation of the Council in making the aide-memoire a practical, lasting and effective decision-making tool of the Council.

As I stated earlier, promoting the protection of civilians in the design, planning and implementation of peacekeeping operations requires closer cooperation between all parts of the United Nations, in particular DPKO and OCHA. To this end, we have reached an understanding with our colleagues from DPKO on how to ensure that protection issues are given sufficient and regular attention in briefings or reports pertaining to peacekeeping operations.

OCHA will ensure, through its focal point on the protection of civilians, that its own expertise and analytical capacities and those of relevant partners — including those from the Inter-Agency Standing Committee framework — are paired with DPKO's long-standing expertise and experience in the design and operation of peacekeeping missions. In this regard, we hope that this reinforced cooperation will assist the Council, providing, where appropriate, complementary briefings on specific protection concerns during its deliberations on the establishment, change or close of a peacekeeping operation.

Before concluding, I would like to update the Council briefly on the progress made in the reorganization of those recommendations of the Secretary-General where a consensus exists, as reflected in resolutions 1265 (1999) and 1296 (2000). For the sake of convenience, I will refer to this exercise as a "road map" — it reorganizes the Secretary-General's recommendations into different themes, identifying institutions responsible for implementation and defining the necessary steps to be taken for such implementation, including those for cooperation and coordination.

To assist in the preparation of the road map, my Office has continued the round-table discussions initiated last fall, adding two more, which took place recently — in February and March — with the participation of all interested Council members. In this respect, I would like to express my gratitude to the Governments of Norway and of Canada for providing the necessary financial support for these events. As before, the round tables have contributed to raising the awareness of the importance for matters of peace and security of issues related to the protection of civilians, and have generated invaluable recommendations and food for thought. The rapporteurs' reports from these meeting will be made available to members of the Council shortly.

In the meantime, I would like to highlight just a few key points that emerged from those round-table meetings. Participants emphasized the challenges posed to humanitarian operations by the increasingly blurred distinctions between civilians and combatants in conflict zones, especially in the areas of access and safety. They noted the growing toll of civilian deaths in recent years and the frequency and severity of assaults on humanitarian personnel and property. Several participants worried that this may indicate an increasing disregard for the standards of international humanitarian law. Lastly, it was emphasized that, faced with the realities of today's conflicts and despite serious challenges to the peace and security of their countries, Member States must adhere to, and continue to promote, the humanitarian and legal standards established over the last 50 years.

While all the activities I have described reflect progress in our joint endeavour, they cannot substitute for the willingness of the Council to act decisively on each of the concerns brought to its attention. Although ultimately the primary responsibility for the protection of civilians falls on the Governments and armed groups involved in conflict situations, swift action by the Council is indispensable where Governments do not honour those responsibilities or deliberately act in violation thereof.

In conclusion, I look forward to working closely with the Council on the finalization of the road map in the coming months and on the regular updating of the aide-memoire. I hope that the understanding on closer cooperation between OCHA and DPKO, together with continued collaboration with our humanitarian partners in the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, will contribute further to enhancing the protection of the millions of civilians caught in conflict areas around the world. In that respect, I hope that in the next briefing to the Council on this issue, we can record even more examples of progress, and I look forward to the next report of the Secretary-General on the protection of civilians in armed conflict, in November 2002.

The President: I thank Mr. Oshima for his presentation and for his kind words addressed to my country.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Kenzo Oshima for his very thorough briefing.

Sometimes in the Security Council, and indeed outside the Council, people ask about the relevance of these thematic debates. I think we need not ask that question today. This debate is entirely justified. I shall give just one figure to illustrate that fact. During the First World War, between 1914 and 1918, 95 per cent of the victims were soldiers. Today, 95 per cent of the victims of conflict are civilians. There has therefore been a radical change in the situation, which has rightly prompted the Council to discuss the question of how it should react to these new circumstances. Under the Charter, of course, the Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Whenever it can, it responds through its first method of acting, namely, intervening directly in conflicts.

But the fact is that there are currently about 50 conflicts throughout the world, both between and within States, and more than half of them are taking place in Africa. Therefore, in addition to our action — diplomatic or on the ground — we must ask ourselves how, given the conflicts taking place, we can protect civilian populations, which are now the primary victims of those conflicts.

The Council is increasingly concerned about acting on the causes of those conflicts and the elements employed in pursuing them. In terms of the elements, I am thinking in particular of small arms. I think we have reason to embark on the huge task of combating the proliferation of small arms, which cause by far the largest number of victims. We are also concerned about cutting off the sources that feed those conflicts — I am thinking here of conflict diamonds and the plunder of natural resources. In that connection, Mr. Oshima mentioned the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is said that there have been 3 million victims in three years in that conflict, mostly civilians; they were not direct victims of the armed conflict, but of the consequences of the conflict, primarily forced labour.

As I am on the subject of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, I should point out that the most recent information available to us about fighting in the Moliro region is particularly serious. It appears that seven battalions of Rwandese troops — about at least 10,000 people — are engaged in an offensive in the area of the Great Lakes and surrounding land routes. This is a major assault and marks a resumption of the war. It is unacceptable that the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo cannot shed light on what is now taking place in Moliro. We are facing a resumption of war, and MONUC must give us information about it.

Of course, apart from Africa there is also the conflict in the Middle East. How can we fail to say that the Fourth Geneva Convention is being seriously violated on a regular basis in the Middle East?

There is one subject on which we must continue our work. I am talking about the question of sanctions. This is a tool that is available to the Council. Its legitimacy would be more accepted if sanctions did not have secondary effects on civilian populations. We have started working on this aspect of the issue through better targeted and time-bound sanctions. I think we need to continue to work on this through, among other things, the idea of humanitarian exemptions, which deserves further discussion.

As a whole, a look at the long list of resolutions mentioned in the annex to the aide-memoire might lead us to wonder whether we should be making an admission of powerlessness today. I do not think so. I think that the aide-memoire shows both what remains to be done and the progress the Council has made to equip itself with a tool — a toolbox, if you like — that is helping us, and that will continue to help us, to act more effectively and in a more targeted fashion. We will need to continue to enrich the aide-memoire and to adapt it as we go further in our discussion. We must also see to it that the Council, with the assistance of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, establishes better coordination with the various international stakeholders — Mr. Oshima mentioned the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other agencies — so that the victims of conflict increasingly include fewer women and children.

In conclusion, I would like to pay a threefold tribute. First of all to the Secretary-General, who in his 1999 and 2001 reports rightly alerted us and mobilized us regarding this topic. Secondly, I would like to pay tribute to Mr. Kenzo Oshima, who has methodically

and dynamically continued his work with the Council to assess situations and to develop a useful tool for us. Lastly, I would like to pay tribute to you, Mr. President. You have lent your support to this issue with your well-known talent, and you have also provided Norway's energy, which has mobilized itself on behalf of this good cause.

The President: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to my country.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): We respect the request which you made, Sir, at the beginning of your presidency to provide short, focused interventions. I have to thank you for ensuring that the Council deepens its understanding of this important subject. Presidential statements from February 1999 onwards and resolutions 1265 (1999) and 1296 (2000) have all been recognized as important benchmarks. Therefore, we welcome this discussion and the production of the aide-memoire to move us forward from the general expressions of interest in the subject of protection of civilians in armed conflict that we have had in past discussions.

The commitments made by heads of State or Government in the Millennium Declaration are also very relevant to this discussion. In that Declaration, Member States pledged to "expand and strengthen the protection of civilians in complex emergencies" (*General Assembly resolution 55/2, para. 26*). That was an important step forward, and the Secretary-General's statements on this subject since then have noted the importance of that commitment. His report in March 2001 on the protection of civilians in armed conflict (S/2001/331) called for the establishment of a culture of prevention, a concept which gives life and purpose to the need for an aide-memoire to aid our forward thinking.

I am not going to comment this morning on specific instances around the world. The very useful presentation that we had from the Under-Secretary-General gives some illustrations of where things are going wrong.

We would very much like to thank the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and its United Nations partners for their efforts in preparing the aide-memoire we have now. But the point is that it marks a step forward in the practical action that we can take over and above the rhetoric in which we have engaged in previous debates. While the Council is becoming steadily more informed about many of the issues contained in it — the special role of women and children in conflict comes to mind here — I would suggest that we sometimes overlook many others. The insidious effects of landmines on civilians are one example. The role of the media and information is another. The exploitation of natural resources and their effect on prolonging conflicts, and so the effects on civilians caught up in those conflicts, is yet another.

As recent and ongoing conflicts show — and the Under-Secretary-General has given us examples this morning — each of these issues has the potential to do much damage to the protection of civilians. But their specific effects are not often well understood, and often we realize how they have impacted on protection of civilians only when it is too late to take remedial action.

It is important to understand that each of the primary objectives contained in the document is of interest not only to the humanitarian wing of the United Nations. Because of the complex interaction between these issues and the conduct of conflict, they are also important in the context of maintaining peace and security. By definition, therefore, they demand the proper attention and consideration of the Security Council. The aide-memoire helpfully underlines that.

To provide one example, recent allegations surrounding the conduct of United Nations workers in West Africa has outlined the possible value of the aide-memoire in highlighting relevant protection concerns and, in so doing, enhancing a more systematic approach to our planning process. On the training of security forces and other United Nations staff charged with carrying out the work of the Organization, we need to have codes of conduct that give substance to the Secretary-General's call for zero tolerance in cases of abuse of civilians by United Nations personnel. We need to understand what this means for the system. In the view of the United Kingdom, such a code of conduct must have a system-wide application, affecting all who work under the blue flag, including United Nations humanitarian agencies and implementing partners associated with United Nations programmes.

Such codes of conduct need to be transparent, clear and credible, underlining the need for accountability, and they should be properly regulated. They could also assist in preventing the development of a climate of impunity fostering an environment in

which terrible crimes and abuse can take place — a point made very specifically to us recently by the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, Ms. Coomaraswamy, in the case of Sierra Leone, when she talked to an Arria formula meeting the other day.

Having enumerated the issues pertinent to the protection of civilians, we need to ask how the system is to work these into its planning processes. Clearly, strengthening the planning and strategic capacities of the United Nations will be important in operationalizing much of the thinking contained in the aide-memoire. I am glad to hear from Mr. Oshima about the workshops planned to spread good practice amongst United Nations personnel.

I, too, would like to draw attention to the President's letter of last June (S/2001/614), which called for the establishment of a cross-cutting team between OCHA and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. This would be a clear step forward towards the integration which the United Kingdom is always calling for.

The Under-Secretary-General has given us useful details this morning of measures in all these areas which the Secretariat is taking. I hope he will keep us informed on progress on mainstreaming the concerns set out in the aide-memoire. We would welcome future joint briefings from Mr. Oshima and Mr. Guéhenno in that respect.

We also need to be careful that there is consistency and synergy between our aide-memoire and the road map of recommendations arising from the Secretary-General's report of March 2001 (S/2001/331), and which we also requested in the President's letter last June to the Secretary-General.

In conclusion, let me draw attention to the covering letter which very sensibly sets out the aide-memoire's purpose and which we will adopt this morning as a presidential statement. It is not meant to prescribe or to limit the Council's actions, or to treat selectively any aspects of the wide concerns captured in the many resolutions cited in the aide-memoire. So it is not meant to be an inflexible constraint on our work. Rather, it is intended to be a compendium of issues which may be relevant for the Security Council's consideration. The aide-memoire should be updated as necessary, so that it can be used, on a case-by-case basis, as a tool kit in designing appropriate responses to the situations which come before us.

That is the spirit in which the United Kingdom will be using this document. We encourage other Council members to do the same.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to my country.

Mr. Franco (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I want to begin, Mr. President, by thanking you and your delegation for having included this briefing on the programme of work for this month. We want to express special gratitude to the Government of Norway for its high standing in addressing the subject of protection of civilians in armed conflict.

We would also like to express our thanks to Mr. Kenzo Oshima, the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, for his briefing. We appreciate the work that he and his Secretariat team are doing to respond to the requests of the Security Council in connection with the subject before us today.

Today, a valuable tool is being given to us in the form of an aide-memoire which will guide the Security Council's considerations on humanitarian issues related to peacekeeping mandates. We believe that through this procedure the Council is becoming more aware of the toll that armed conflict takes on the lives of civilians. We are also reminded that we must work even harder to prevent and resolve conflicts. That is the best way of avoiding the hardship and suffering that we are witnessing in many parts of the world today.

We feel that it should be underscored that this aide-memoire has been prepared in close consultation with the Security Council and that we all recognize the need to apply it on a case-by-case basis, taking into account the specific needs of every conflict situation and of every peacekeeping mission in the field. Practice will show us the way forward.

We would like to highlight three aspects of Mr. Oshima's briefing, with a view to asking him a few questions on those points.

First, I believe that we all are deeply concerned at the abuses under investigation which were committed in refugee and displaced-person camps in West Africa. In addition to the degrading nature of this behaviour, light has been shed on the complex relationship between the ideals of humanitarian service, the quality

of that service in some areas and the management of funds received from the public for this work.

I should like to ask Mr. Oshima if he could elaborate, along the lines of what was mentioned by Ambassador Greenstock, on codes of conduct for international workers, who sometimes do not feel themselves to be accountable to society.

In asking this question, I should like to highlight two aspects. First, it is our hope that this problem will not be dealt with as something focusing only on West Africa, but, rather, that we will focus on the fact that this is a problem that can arise wherever there exists a humanitarian crisis. Secondly, the problem involves not only humanitarian workers; questions have also been raised regarding the personnel of peacekeeping operations.

Secondly, I should like to comment on the facilities for access by humanitarian organizations to those persons that are most vulnerable in situations of conflict. We are seeing today many situations in which access is difficult — in Afghanistan, Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in other areas. Do we have more or less precise figures regarding this disturbing reality? What are the general views of the international community on this situation? And how it can be corrected, on the basis of the norms of international law and in particular of General Assembly resolution 46/182 on the coordination of emergency humanitarian assistance?

I should like to make one last point regarding the future work of the Secretariat. We want to underscore the valuable contribution to an understanding of humanitarian issues that is being made by the round tables organized by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, with a view to preparing a road map on the practical implementation of, and the institutional responsibilities related to, the 54 recommendations on the protection of civilians that were made by the Secretary-General.

We would be interested in hearing some thoughts about the interaction of humanitarian organizations with non-State actors in armed conflicts. We are all aware of the many abuses and violations of international humanitarian law committed on a daily basis by these groups, and the fact that the international community has a very minimal capacity to react to them.

It is our understanding that in Geneva the Inter-Agency Standing Committee has been examining this question, with a view to preparing some directives for United Nations workers. Perhaps Mr. Oshima could tell us something about this.

The President: I thank the representative of Colombia for the kind words he addressed to my country.

Ms. Foo (Singapore): First, let me join others in thanking Under-Secretary-General Oshima for his extensive and comprehensive briefing and the Norwegian presidency for its delegation's efforts to keep the important issue of protection of civilians in armed conflict high and firmly on the Council's agenda. It is indeed important to revisit the issue from time to time to ask ourselves whether what we have been saying and doing so far is making a difference on the ground.

In this regard, we would like to make three quick points.

First, concerning the road map, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) has conducted several round-table discussions on this topic so far. There has been significant feedback from the relevant agencies involved in this exercise, but, while it is easy for the agencies to highlight the problems and the gaps, it has been a more difficult exercise to recommend specific tools of implementation. Therefore, in the report on the road-map exercise that the Secretariat will be submitting, it might therefore be useful to highlight specific tools of implementation that could be used to implement the recommendations.

Secondly, we welcome the adoption of the draft aide-memoire, to take place later today. We believe that it could become a useful tool in the consideration of current and future issues pertaining to protection of civilians. In this regard, we would like to suggest that a review be conducted of the current peacekeeping operations using the aide-memoire as a checklist for evaluation.

This serves two purposes: first, it allows us to assess if current peacekeeping operations have been effective in protecting civilians and whether there could be further improvements to provide better protection for them; and secondly, it helps to evaluate the practical usefulness of the aide-memoire as a guide and reference. This will help us to develop the aide-

memoire further, as Under-Secretary-General Oshima noted, as a living document.

As we have consistently emphasized in all of our discussions on this and other related subjects, the Council will not be judged by the number of documents we adopt on important but abstract principles, but by how we apply those principles to the actual conflict situations we deal with in a consistent way. To help this review, the Secretariat may wish to keep the Council informed about the usefulness of the practical application of the aide-memoire which the Secretariat is planning to carry out, including through the November 2002 reports.

Thirdly, protection of civilians is best served if we can act prior to an impending conflict. The Council should not react only when large-scale violence has taken place but should conduct itself proactively, and act collectively, to prevent such conflict. The culture of prevention has not yet fully taken hold. The Council has been hearing ad hoc reports on disputes that could pose a threat to international peace and security. What is clearly lacking now is a structured mechanism that could be implemented, when receiving such reports, to contain a potential conflict. It may therefore be worth the Council's while to reflect on this issue at a later stage.

The President: I thank the representative of Singapore for the kind words she addressed to me.

Mr. Corr (Ireland): I would first like to join others in thanking you, Mr. President, for arranging today's public meeting of the Council on protection of civilians in armed conflict and also to express warm appreciation for Norway's work, not only in advancing agreement on the aide-memoire we will be adopting later but for Norway's emphasis on this issue over the recent period.

The remarks made by Under-Secretary-General Oshima in his briefing emphasize the crucial importance of the issue of protection of civilians in armed conflict. Ambassador Levitte rightly made the point that in the First World War, 95 per cent of victims were soldiers. In recent decades, the casualty toll in wars in many parts of the world predominately relates to civilians. This therefore makes it all the more important that the issue of protection of civilians in conflict situations become a matter of the greatest importance to the Council.

For that reason, Ireland very much welcomes the aide-memoire we will be adopting later today. It is rightly noted in the document's introduction that this is not intended to be a blueprint; it is, instead, as has been said by previous speakers, a tool box. We also agree that it is important — Under-Secretary-General Oshima, I think, made this point also — that it be periodically reviewed in the light of our own assessments and in the light of our experience with peacekeeping mandates. Nonetheless, it is a synthesis of the central steps that may need to be considered by the Council in dealing with this critical issue.

In recent decades, we have constructed an elaborate edifice of international human rights and humanitarian law. Now, the issue of protection of civilians in armed conflict is at the forefront of our consideration. At the same time, we still have to make the transition to the implementation and creation of what the Secretary-General has called in his reports a culture of prevention and a culture of protection.

My delegation welcomes the comments made by the Under-Secretary-General this morning on the road map and on the reorganization of the 54 recommendations from the Secretary-General's reports. We feel that the round-table discussions have been very helpful and we think that it is important that, in this area, we also achieve a strong level of coordination between our own assessment and consideration of the aide-memoire and its objectives and what will emerge in terms of the road map.

There are three or four very general points of emphasis I would like to make as regards Ireland's view.

First, it is clear that the Security Council, the General Assembly, other United Nations agencies and the international financial institutions need to work more closely together in this area. It is also true that national Governments, of course, have the central responsibility, but the issue of coordination and ensuring that there is a broad symmetry in the approaches taken is of critical importance. For that reason, I would like to pay special tribute to the work that the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) has been doing in this area. It is at the normative level not merely in strengthening awareness of the issues, but also in terms of the practical implementation of important objectives in this area. Much has already been done and we appreciate that.

Secondly, on the point of justice — on which we had a very useful meeting between the Council and special representatives from the field a few weeks ago — this is an important issue that is rightly highlighted in the aide-memoire. Bill Berkeley, in his book *The Graves Are Not yet Full* — a study of wars in Africa published last year — rightly said that justice is not only an answer to tyranny, but a window on it. We therefore regard this issue as important. Ireland, for its part, fully endorses the exclusion of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes from amnesty provisions and would like to see emphasis given to the issue of justice in the aide-memoire.

The issue of humanitarian access has, of course, to remain a key priority. I was grateful for the update given by the Under-Secretary-General on this and for the working group study on the issue of engagement with armed groups.

On the plight of internally displaced persons, this is also an issue of importance that is highlighted in the aide-memoire. An overriding concern remains the dire humanitarian circumstances in many countries. The Under-Secretary-General mentioned a figure of 4.6 million internally displaced persons in Angola. He also referred to the situation in the Sudan and the recent attacks. In terms of how we approach the objectives in the aide-memoire, this will therefore be an important issue in the period ahead.

Finally, women and children almost always are the principal victims of armed conflict. Therefore, as issues for consideration in the aide-memoire, we welcome the inclusion of a number of issues relating to the effects of armed conflict on women and children. We welcome the references made to special protection measures, activities within the United Nations system and mainstreaming of the gender perspective, including the integration of gender advisers in peace operations and expanding the role of women in United Nations field operations.

Last year's report of the Secretary-General noted that no peacekeeping or peace enforcement mission has yet been authorized to close down the assets of hate media. My delegation considers action regarding hate media as important. It is referred to in the aide-memoire; like all aspects of the aide-memoire, this is not a prescription for every circumstance. Freedom of the press is, of course, fundamental to democracy, but we feel it fully right that this issue has been referred to in the aide-memoire.

In conclusion, let me again thank Under-Secretary-General Oshima for the work that OCHA is doing in this area. This is a critical issue. We believe that it should be kept highly and firmly on the Council's agenda and look forward to the Secretary-General's next report towards the end of the year.

The President: I thank the representative of Ireland for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Let me begin by thanking Under-Secretary-General Oshima for his briefing.

In armed conflicts throughout the world, innocent civilians represent a growing percentage of victims, generating widespread concern in the international community. In recent years, the Security Council has held many debates and adopted a number of resolutions and presidential statements on this issue. It is our hope that today's discussions and the aide-memoire to be adopted will facilitate the efforts of the international community to protect civilians in armed conflict.

The protection of civilians in armed conflict is a multifaceted mission in which the international community, including the humanitarian relief agencies, has done a great deal. All the mandates of United Nations peacekeeping operations have, to varying degrees, incorporated the protection of civilians. The main responsibility for protection, however, rests fundamentally with the Governments and parties to the conflict concerned. The Council must urge all parties concerned to seek a solution through dialogue and peaceful means and strictly to abide by international humanitarian law so as to avoid making innocent civilians suffer.

For the United Nations, the Security Council in particular, the prevention and early cessation of armed conflicts are the most effective ways to protect civilians. Two days ago, the Security Council adopted resolution 1397 (2002) on the issue of the situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question, in which it demanded immediate cessation of all acts of violence and a political settlement through negotiation. We believe that this is an important step by the Council and one that is long overdue.

Apart from the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, many armed conflicts around the world continue to endanger

the safety and security of innocent civilians and thus threaten regional and international peace and security. The Council should make further efforts to mitigate and seek solutions to these conflicts so as to establish conditions conducive to the protection of civilians in armed conflict.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): I, too, want to thank the Under-Secretary-General for his report today and for the efforts he and his staff have made to produce this document. It is a good piece of work and an innovative piece of work in helping us to be more concrete about this important subject.

I also want to join others in thanking you, Sir, and your delegation for your efforts in working with Council members and the Secretariat to reach agreement on the document. I think this was a good practice and is a good precedent, and I hope we can emulate it in the future.

We have always considered the protection of civilians in armed conflict to be at the heart of the United Nations task and this Council's task in dealing with war and conflict. Unfortunately, the long list of examples of the difficult problem that the Under-Secretary-General provided this morning could be even longer. It is an urgent and pressing problem, but I think that today's discussion and the aide-memoire show that we are, in fact, institutionally making some progress in dealing with it. I also want to welcome Mr. Oshima's affirmation of the zero tolerance policy to be followed when the protectors begin to prey on the protected.

The aide-memoire is a useful step forward, I think, because it provides clarity, focus and specifics to the discussion that we are having about how best we can organize ourselves to afford the maximum amount of protection to civilians. It sets out rather clearly, schematically and usefully the instruments that the international community and this Council can bring to bear, depending on the circumstances. I was also glad to hear Mr. Oshima's remarks about how knowledge of the existence and use of these instruments could be spread more broadly throughout Governments and the United Nations system. We support very much the intent to follow up on the aide-memoire and to refine it further in the future, as our experience in the use of the instruments increases.

I was particularly struck by the aide-memoire's "precedents" column, which shows, I think — as one would hope — that we are bringing these instruments to bear. It is also interesting that almost all of the examples set out in the "precedents" column are contained in resolutions that we have adopted in the last two years. I hope this shows that we are, in fact, merging our operations in the Council with the more theoretical approach taken in the thematic discussions.

We look forward to the Secretary-General's report in November. We join others in encouraging better coordination and integration within the United Nations system and between the United Nations system and nations that are participating in various aspects of peacekeeping or other operations. I would like to lend my support to the thought that the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) consider providing us with a joint briefing on this effort in the future.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for his kind words addressed to my country.

Mr. Gokool (Mauritius): The tragic developments and grave situation in the Middle East, Africa and Eastern Europe, among others, remind us once again of the need for the Security Council to take comprehensive measures to address the protection of those innocent civilians who have always been the first and easiest victims, both in inter-State and intra-State conflicts.

Mr. President, I salute your decision to include this item in the agenda of the Security Council. I express my delegation's appreciation of the tremendous efforts that your delegation has put into the preparation and negotiation of the aide-memoire before us. I equally commend the efforts and good work undertaken by the experts of the members of the Security Council and the Secretariat through their interactive consultation. I would also like to pay tribute to Mr. Oshima for his fruitful briefing that highlights the positive measures taken to protect innocent civilians in armed conflict.

There is no doubt that the aide-memoire provides an important framework for allocating responsibilities and obligations to each actor involved in the conflict, either directly or indirectly. Indeed, as Mr. Oshima has pointed out, the document is an unprecedented example of coordination and extensive consultation among the parties involved. The checklist now needs to be translated into action in order to bring positive results,

and I highly commend the proposal outlined by Mr. Oshima for doing this.

I would like to concentrate on four aspects regarding the protection of civilians in armed conflict. First, there cannot be real peace and security in a world where minimum protection to civilians is not guaranteed, whether in times of peace or of war. We must, therefore, condemn in unequivocal terms the continued violation of the basic norms of law and moral behaviour.

Secondly, the culture of impunity should, once and for all, be eliminated. We fully support the recommendations in bullet six of the aide-memoire in this regard. We applaud the efforts of the international community in the establishment of the International Criminal Court which, I understand, now needs only five ratifications to come into effect and which, we hope, will address all war crimes and crimes against humanity. The establishment of the two International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda respectively has clearly demonstrated the importance of such mechanisms at the international level. There is a growing consensus that international peace and reconciliation can come only after justice has been secured. International criminal proceedings will, in a way, play the role of healer and encourage the process of reconciliation. National interests should not outweigh the willingness to comply with international human rights norms.

Thirdly, it is imperative that all parties to any conflict ensure that humanitarian assistance is not interrupted in any of the areas affected by conflicts. The responsibility should be not only upon the Government, but also upon the opposing parties. Several reports on the humanitarian situations in States plagued by armed conflict have expressed grave concern over the dearth of humanitarian aid to innocent civilians. Those who violate humanitarian or regional norms should be made accountable either through domestic jurisdiction or through regional or international mechanisms.

Another point worth noting here is that when we talk of protecting civilians and extending humanitarian aid, we should not wait for a situation to deteriorate into armed conflict. This exacerbates the situation, and people start losing faith in the principles of human rights and humanitarian law.

Fourthly, and lastly, the Security Council should urge the parties concerned to establish a protective neutralized zone, as provided for in the Fourth Geneva Convention. All opposing parties should recognize this zone through concluding an explicit agreement under the guidance of the International Committee for the Red Cross or any other humanitarian agency. We would like to highlight here our appreciation at learning that, among the initiatives that have been taken or are being undertaken, the separation of combatants from refugee camps is being put into effect.

Finally, I would like to say that the crisis of credibility regarding efforts of the United Nations in protecting civilians in armed conflict not only makes security elusive, but also negatively impacts all actions taken or proposed to be taken by the United Nations. We hope this aide-memoire and the road map will wipe away doubt and apprehension and will give way to a culture of confidence.

The President: I thank the representative of Mauritius for his kind words addressed to my country.

Mr. Fall (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): I, too, wish to express the appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Kenzo Oshima for the useful information contained in the report that he has just given us. I would also like to congratulate the Norwegian presidency on having organized this discussion on the protection of civilians in armed conflict.

In so doing, the Council has demonstrated once again its desire to assume to a greater degree its responsibilities in the area of the maintenance of international peace and security. Here, I would like to point out the particular interest that my delegation attaches to this discussion, because, as the Council knows, my country belongs to a subregion that continues to be the theatre of several conflicts whose effects on civilians are terrifying.

The new nature of conflicts at the intra-State level has caused a new form of violence whose primary victims are civilian populations. This situation, which is an insult to, inter alia, human dignity, denies all respect for the elementary principles of international humanitarian law.

In the Millennium Declaration, adopted in September 2000, the Member States of the Organization pledged to expand and strengthen the protection of civilians in urgent, complex situations.

Several Council resolutions and presidential statements have stressed the gravity of the question and revealed the need to find a solution to it.

Therefore, my delegation supports steps under way for the implementation of the 54 recommendations of the Secretary-General with regard to the protection of civilians. As the Council knows, these recommendations cover three major areas: strategy, the aide-memoire and close cooperation between the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO).

We are following with interest the elaboration of the road map, and we welcome the financial support provided by the Government of Norway. We hope that the final result of this work will be made available in November 2002, as announced by Mr. Oshima on 21 November 2001.

The aide-memoire before the Council today is the product of a long work process that takes into account the principal objectives, gives us guidance on issues to examine and provides a checklist of questions relating to the protection of civilians in armed conflict. We should like to recognize those who initiated this document and those who contributed to its elaboration. In our view, the checklist seeks to ensure that questions relating to the protection of civilians are taken into account in the process of peacekeeping operations. Accordingly, we believe that it is a reference tool for the Council.

We welcome the establishment of a multisectoral team composed of representatives of DPKO and OCHA. This will facilitate the taking into account of questions relating to the protection of civilians in the conception, planning and implementation of peacekeeping operations.

We think that the strategy document now being elaborated by OCHA takes into account all the aspects of the question. Moreover, my delegation would like to encourage and stress the importance of coordinating activities within the United Nations system, on the one hand, and between it, the other actors involved in the protection of civilians and Member States, on the other.

Finally, my delegation believes that the best way to protect civilians today lies in the prevention of conflicts and the establishment of an effective and consistent peace-building programme.

The President: I thank the representative of Guinea for his kind words addressed to my country.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): Bulgaria wishes to pay tribute to Norway and to you, Mr. President, for having included this item on the Council's agenda. Today's debate is one link in a chain of activities and initiatives within the United Nations system devoted to the extremely important question of the protection of civilians in armed conflict. The follow-up to this debate will undoubtedly be extremely useful.

The aide-memoire that will be adopted shortly is an extremely useful tool for the Council's work, and I share the sentiments expressed by others on this subject. I would like to highlight a few aspects of the document that we consider extremely important: access to humanitarian assistance by vulnerable groups of a population; the importance attached to the special protection to be given to children and women; the separation of civilian populations from military elements in refugee camps; and lastly, the role of the media.

I would like to emphasize in particular the option included in the mandate of peacekeeping operations for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes for former combatants. It is clear that the measures planned need to be adapted to specific conditions in crisis areas. They must be adequately financed and, above all, they must give due attention to the reintegration of children who have participated in conflicts. An instructive and very useful example is the reintegration of ex-combatants of the Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone. The daily work of the Council shows us the importance of this problem of reintegration, seen in crises such as those in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Afghanistan and elsewhere.

As for the road map, which we await with interest, I should like to join the delegation of Singapore in hoping that it will not only be consistent with the aide-memoire, but will also set out concrete measures to implement these steps.

Finally, I should like to thank Mr. Kenzo Oshima for his briefing and for the important coordination work being done by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and within the United Nations system. I should like to thank him in particular

for having given us very important examples, including the Sudan, where the situation is truly intolerable.

I should also like to mention the importance Bulgaria attaches to the training of humanitarian personnel for these missions. This might be reflected in a future update of the aide-memoire. We are also grateful that the sexual exploitation of children was mentioned, not only because of the media's strong interest in it, but also because it is a real problem. The United Kingdom's idea of establishing a code of conduct is most welcome.

In conclusion, I should like to say how important it is that the United Nations continue to coordinate its efforts with non-governmental organizations in the area we are discussing today. These organizations play a very important role in the protection of civilians in armed conflict, and my delegation hopes that that role will be highlighted in the activities of the United Nations.

The President: I thank the representative of Bulgaria for his kind words addressed to my country.

Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): It is a pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your initiative of resuming the Council's discussion of the protection of civilians in armed conflict. This is undoubtedly one of the most important issues before us, as Ambassador Levitte said in his statement and as we see from the statistics he provided. This issue is intimately bound up with the question of international humanitarian law in armed conflicts. I greatly appreciate the aide-memoire annexed to the draft presidential statement; it is truly a road map for our future work.

I would also like to join those who preceded me in thanking Mr. Oshima, the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, for his briefing to the Council this morning. It demonstrated once again that he possesses true humanitarian spirit in his work of coordination and in organizing round tables on this issue. Last year, I had the honour of being in the Economic and Social Council when he discussed humanitarian issues.

What distinguishes today's discussion is that it complements previous debates in the Council, now that the Council has decided to focus on the question of protecting civilians in armed conflicts as an early warning element of the maintenance of international peace and security. We must recall that wars have taken a high toll of civilian victims — approximately 5 million during the past decade. As Ambassador Levitte said, civilians now make up 95 per cent of the victims of armed conflict.

The Secretary-General has submitted numerous reports providing information on the victims of armed conflicts and on grave violations of human rights. The Council bears a special responsibility to encourage Member States to fulfil their obligations with respect to the protection of civilians. Ways must be found to improve cooperation among the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, each according to its mandate. We must also work for coordination among the various agencies and partners of the United Nations to ensure the necessary effectiveness through a comprehensive methodology.

More than half a century has passed since the adoption of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Even though the majority of States have ratified the Convention, its provisions remain largely unimplemented in armed conflicts. The international community must therefore accelerate implementation of international instruments in a serious manner, to provide the civil and legal protection demanded by international humanitarian law.

We have carefully listened to the statements made in this meeting. They primarily expressed the international community's concern for protecting civilians in armed conflict and for ensuring compliance with international humanitarian law. These statements have been impassioned calls to put an end to the hysteria the world has witnessed during the past few months and years. In these many conflicts, particularly those in Africa, Central Europe, the Middle East and Afghanistan, millions of civilians have been killed without justification. The world has been thoroughly confounded. However, too often, the Council's repeated appeals have not gone beyond the walls of this Chamber. Even worse, they have not prevented numerous instances of carnage in full view of the world.

That in no way means that we are blaming any party. It is only an attempt to spur our collective efforts so that we can address and resolve the essential problem. The positive effect of preventing the death of one single civilian in an armed conflict would

undoubtedly exceed that of thousands of words, statements and resolutions.

Let us be more frank. Let us ask some questions that shed light on this question. As a practical example of what is happening in the Middle East, do you not see as I do, Sir, the gravity of what is occurring in the occupied Palestinian territories and all the other occupied Arab territories? The Palestinian people is suffering, as Mr. Oshima stated in his intervention. Have not the forces of Israeli occupation killed more than 1,000 Palestinian civilians in the past few months alone? What did we, the Security Council, do to stop the advance of the Israeli tanks into Palestinian refugee camps, where they crushed the bones of scores of Palestinians? Even after yesterday's adoption of Security Council resolution 1397 (2002), the Israeli Prime Minister ordered the tanks to reoccupy Ramallah, where the headquarters of Chairman Arafat are located. Did not Israeli forces mutilate the bodies of those killed in the conflict? Were their bodies not thrown in the alleys? Were not Red Cross and Red Crescent ambulances prevented from transporting injured Palestinians, including many pregnant women, many of whom died at the checkpoints set up by the Israeli army? Did they not prevent many women in labour from reaching hospitals? Many of them gave birth at those checkpoints. Are they not human beings? Does international humanitarian law no longer apply when the subject is Palestinian citizens and Arabs who are defending on their own land their right to life, liberty and dignity? Palestinian civilians are unjustifiably being killed at the very moment when the Council is discussing the protection of civilians in armed conflict. Why does the Council not send a letter to the occupying force, telling Israel to stop the killing and destruction, to put an end to the carnage and to withdraw from the occupied Palestinian territories, as called for in the relevant Security Council resolutions?

The Syrian Arab Republic supports safe and unimpeded access to civilian populations in need of assistance. However, it is necessary to stress the need for the organizations providing international assistance to be unbiased and objective. We would like to congratulate the International Organization of the Red Cross and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, which are making every effort to meet that goal.

We must commit ourselves to the Charter and to other international instruments, including General Assembly resolution 46/182, in a way that demonstrates respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, their political independence and their national laws. Such instruments should not be used for political purposes.

Syria supports the bringing to trial of those who commit the crime of forcibly transferring peoples under occupation from their land and replacing them with others, which is a grave violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. People — including those under foreign occupation — particularly civilians suffering from the scourge of war and armed conflict attach great importance to our continued deliberations in this respect and to our determination to ensure the implementation of agreements, recommendations and international instruments to protect them and to ensure that conditions are in place to enable them to live a dignified life until such a time as their suffering can be ended. However, sincere political will is essential to ensure respect for these international laws, resolutions and instruments, in particular the principles of international humanitarian law, including the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which is applicable to the protection of civilians under occupation. It is both important and necessary for us to stress this fact in Security Council resolutions that relate to armed conflict in all parts of the world. How can the Council fail to stress the importance of the implementation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War?

The aide-memoire annexed to the draft presidential statement refers to 30 resolutions and six presidential statements relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and the protection of civilians, including women and children, and others in armed conflict. But what about the practical implementation of those resolutions and presidential statements? Hence my comment that our appeals are confined merely to this Chamber.

In conclusion, I would like to pay tribute to the Governments of Norway and of Canada for their efforts to sensitize public opinion to the importance of the protection of civilians in time of war. I would also like to pay tribute to you personally, Mr. President, and to the other members of your delegation for the humanitarian qualities you demonstrated in preparing so well for our discussion of this matter.

The President: I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for his kind words addressed to me, to my delegation and to my country.

Mr. Aguilar Zínser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mexico welcomes the fact that the Security Council's work includes discussion of the significant matter of the protection of civilians in armed conflict. We are pleased that this is a priority issue of fundamental importance in the work of the Council. The protection of the lives and the human dignity of all individuals must be the ultimate goal of international action in preventing and resolving conflicts. That is why my country believes that is it necessary to reassess the way in which we think about the victims, according that issue due importance in dealing with conflict.

The central focus of United Nations peace operations and of the steps that must be taken to prevent conflict must be the protection of innocent civilians. This must be — indeed, in the experience of the United Nations, it has been — one of the fundamental grounds for the establishment of peacekeeping operations.

Mexico therefore acknowledges the efforts made by the Secretary-General in preparing and submitting the aide-memoire — a document that was produced in close cooperation with Member States. In this context, my country acknowledges the special work carried out by Norway to promote the preparation of that document, and to accord priority to this matter and establish its importance within United Nations peacekeeping activities. We hope that this work will be ongoing, and not just an isolated effort.

Mexico is in favour of greater contacts and exchanges between the principal bodies of the Organization, in particular the General Assembly and the Security Council. The aide-memoire will strengthen the link between those two organs, holding them responsible for working together on this issue. Furthermore, the document will help make the work of the Security Council more open and transparent. It will thus be a useful tool for consultation, making it much easier to observe the Council's work on issues such as the effects of conflict on the most vulnerable and fragile human beings caught up in situations of violence — who are often, of course, women and children.

The fact that the aide-memoire is to be applied on a case-by-case basis, rather than as a prescription for every situation, should also be emphasized. We must take into account the specific circumstances of each conflict. In this respect, we must commit ourselves to revising and updating the aide-memoire in the light of all the experience gained.

In responding to your recommendation, Mr. President, in convening this meeting, that we should have an interactive debate and raise issues in order to consider, together, what course of action to take, I would like to stress the need to set out specific time frames and mechanisms for updating the aide-memoire so that it will be an instrument in constant flux — a living tool. It would thus be appropriate to establish a specific time frame within which this process can be carried out.

I would also like to raise the question of how that tool is to be incorporated into the work of the Organization and of other bodies that can play an important role in protecting civilians in conflict situations. For example, how can this effort be linked with the specific work being done by the United Nations Children's Fund, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict? Once progress is made on the aide-memoire — and we are pleased at the work done on it — we would be interested in knowing the status of the progress made in the other two areas in which the Secretariat is working: the road map and improving cooperation between the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, as well as the cooperation that other bodies of the system are providing.

I would like to highlight the issue of a code of conduct for all United Nations personnel working to care for the victims of armed conflict. My delegation has on a number of occasions, both here and in other forums, expressed its views regarding the urgent need to establish a code of conduct for all United Nations personnel and, as was stated here by the delegation of the United Kingdom, for all others who work under the United Nations flag. This is a matter whose importance for the Organization is growing daily. Recent reports of possible serious abuses committed by staff associated with the United Nations doing humanitarian work in West Africa has drawn the attention of Members of the Organization to the need to formulate such a code of conduct as soon as possible. As a backdrop to this we

already have at our disposal the 10 rules of personal conduct to which Blue Helmets commit themselves. But this effort must go far beyond that. My delegation would like actively to participate in promoting this task.

Before concluding, I would like to note the presence in the Mexican delegation of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs for Human Rights, Ms. Mari Claire Acosta Urquidi, who is taking part in this meeting precisely because of the importance that my country attaches to the subject of human rights in general, and in this instance to the human rights of civilians in armed conflict.

The President: I thank the representative of Mexico for his kind words addressed to my country.

Mr. Karev (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Allow me, first of all, to thank Mr. Kenzo Oshima for the detailed briefing he has given us today on the protection of civilians in armed conflict.

The problem of protecting civilians in armed conflict remains one of the most burning issues of our day. In our view, it is only normal that the Security Council, which bears the primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, should give its constant attention to this issue. Security Council resolutions 1265 (1999) and 1296 (2000) have established a solid basis for the Council's work in this area. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his reports on the protection of civilians, which outline for the Council areas in which to make further efforts to protect civilians. We are also grateful for the Secretariat's contribution in preparing the aide-memoire.

Russia's position on this question is based on the need for an effective and adequate international response to any crises, including humanitarian ones. The international community has developed an excellent legal basis for the attainment of the noble goal of protecting the lives and health of persons not directly engaged in armed conflict. We have in mind primarily the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto. Unfortunately, we must point out that there is a large gap between written law and the practical implementation of these vital norms.

Russia knows from bitter experience what war is and the suffering it causes to people. Many of the victims of armed conflict are women, children and elderly persons. Representatives of political and humanitarian missions of the United Nations and of non-governmental organizations perish in the flames of these conflicts. We support strengthening coordination and cooperation between the Security Council and the International Committee of the Red Cross and other bodies that, under the division of labour that has emerged, are reacting to a variety of challenges in the humanitarian sphere.

Of course, in all circumstances the primary responsibility for ensuring that civilians are spared the brunt of conflict lies with the parties to an armed conflict. In our view, the draft aide-memoire drawn up by our experts is a practical step in protecting civilians. We hope that it will provide valuable assistance to the Security Council in complying with its peacekeeping mandate.

In conclusion, allow me to thank you and your delegation, Mr. President, for having taking the initiative to hold this meeting, and for the great contribution you have made in the preparation of the aide-memoire.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to my delegation.

Mrs. Mahouve Same (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): I too would like to thank Mr. Kenzo Oshima for his very useful briefing, which was highly instructive and which has given us a better understanding of the developments on issues that arise daily in the work undertaken to reduce the suffering of civilians trapped in conflicts. I would also like to welcome the aide-memoire on this issue drafted under the coordination of the delegation of Norway and the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA).

Humanitarian suffering caused by armed conflict reminds us of the need for robust and concerted action on the part of Governments, the Security Council and others in a position to make a genuine contribution to the implementation of all the recommendations contained in the first and second reports of the Secretary-General on the protection of civilians in armed conflict (S/1999/957 and S/2001/331), so as to improve the protection accorded them.

The types of conflicts have now changed to include communal violence, ethnic cleansing, terrorism

and private wars financed by the international trade in oil and diamonds. These are in essence internal conflicts marked by a proliferation of armed groups. Faced with the change in the situation, new mechanisms and strategies are now necessary. We need to establish a culture of protection, which will depend on the capacity of the United Nations and the international community to meet the challenges of this new situation.

I should like to make the following comments. Regarding penal justice, we think any form of impunity in the area of humanitarian law or human rights violations in which civilians in conflicts are victims should be effectively combated.

We welcome in this respect the progress that was made last year in the matter of decisions taken by the Security Council to set up a group of ad litem judges for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, to increase the number of judges at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and to create a special independent tribunal for Sierra Leone.

Turning to access to civilians in the case of conflicts, nothing has as much of a real impact on civilians in conflicts as humanitarian aide to meet their most urgent and immediate basic needs. We welcome in this regard the initiative of the Secretary-General described in paragraph 26 of his report S/2001/331, which deals with working out a manual on criteria for engagement and disengagement of humanitarian organizations that are being set up. We encourage the Council to continue active dialogue with parties in conflict and also to use fact-finding missions in conflict areas.

The separation of civilians from armed elements remains, for our country, a crucial problem to be resolved with determination because of the numerous problems caused by the infiltration of armed elements in the camps and the regroupment areas of refugees and displaced persons. This infiltration sometimes reaches the point of destabilizing some countries and regions, in addition to the many dangers that ensue with regard to the lives of civilians and humanitarian staff. The measures described in paragraph 35 and 36 of the report S/2001/133 of the Secretary-General, in particular the June 2000 agreement between the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, are still topical and should continue to receive every attention from the Council.

With regard to the media, we are all aware of the importance of this sector in conflict situations. It is an area where the Council has in its resolution 1296 (2000) provided for the opportunity for action to be taken against those who incite hatred, crime and genocide. My country favours a mechanism to monitor the local media.

With regard to actors providing civilian protection, consideration should be given to the complementary role that certain elements in the international community — regional organizations, civil society, actors in the private sector, women and young people — could play, with impetus and coordination provided by the United Nations.

Finally, Cameroon encourages the Council to keep up the momentum that it has already gained to advance civilian protection and meet the humanitarian needs of vulnerable groups such as women and children. Special attention should be given to the participation of women in the determination of strategies for protection as well as in negotiating peace agreements.

The President: I thank the representative of Cameroon for the kind words addressed to my delegation. I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Norway. It will be brief.

Protection of civilians is at the core of the Security Council's work for peace and security. Norway therefore attaches great importance to this issue on the Council's agenda.

Like the speakers before me, I would like to thank Under-Secretary-General Oshima for his comprehensive and very informative briefing. In particular, we would like to thank him for the many concrete examples he provided of specific situations and ongoing crises where protection of civilians is a highly relevant concern. These concerns neither can nor should be overlooked. Those responsible for endangering the protection of civilians must take immediate action to prevent such occurrences.

The examples mentioned in the briefing clearly demonstrate the relevance of the aide-memoire on protection of civilians in armed conflict that we are about to adopt. Norway would like to thank

Mr. Oshima and his colleagues in the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the many other United Nations institutions involved for their very constructive cooperation in preparing the aide-memoire and the high quality of their contributions. We welcome OCHA's readiness to continue to work closely with the Council in the same spirit. I would also like to thank all the other delegations for their cooperation in working out the draft statement that we are going to adopt later.

It is worth noting the considerable precedence for addressing concerns related to protection of civilians represented by the nearly 40 references to previous Security Council resolutions and presidential statements contained in the aide-memoire. This proves both the relevance of the issue and the Council's commitment to addressing these concerns. But the situations cited clearly show that we have to do better. While we believe that the aide-memoire is a powerful and practical tool, the job is far from finished. We reaffirm Norway's readiness to continue to work closely with the Secretariat and other Council members to make further progress with regard to protection of civilians in armed conflict.

It is our hope that the aide-memoire will serve as a practical tool box that will enable the Council in the future, while it deals with the conflicts on its agenda, to become more effective in addressing concerns related to protection of civilians. However, like any other tool, it will be useful only to the extent that it is utilized to solve particular tasks. I encourage you all to make active and frequent use of this new tool box.

I shall now resume my function as President of the Council. I now give the floor to Mr. Oshima to respond to the comments and questions raised.

Mr. Oshima: First of all, I would like to express my gratitude for the kind words about the work of my Office and of my colleagues in various humanitarian agencies and their partners. I am also very pleased that the aide-memoire has been very positively received. I look forward to working closely on this matter with the members of the Council, including updating and revising it as necessary, and to keeping the Council informed about new developments that may require its involvement.

I am also grateful for the Council's general appreciation of the closer cooperation between the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) in the future. In this regard, I noted a couple of points that I would like to briefly address. One was the suggestion made by the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States inviting OCHA to join briefings with DPKO on the matter of protection in the context of its deliberations on peacekeeping mandates. I would like to thank those two delegations for this suggestion.

I have already raised this possibility with my colleagues from the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and I would very much welcome the opportunity to do so in future, as the need arises.

Another related matter was raised in this connection. A proposal was made by the representative of Singapore to see whether it would be useful to carry out a review of all peacekeeping operations against the background of the aide-memoire. I think that this is a very useful suggestion, and I should like to thank the representative of Singapore for raising this point. I should like to discuss this matter further with Under-Secretary-General Guehenno, in the spirit of the understanding we have reached on closer cooperation between the two bodies.

Allow me to try briefly to respond to some of the questions raised. First, with respect to the allegations made concerning West Africa, as I noted in my briefing, what we have been doing so far is to follow exactly the overall guidelines that the Secretary-General himself has provided. He directed that these allegations be investigated as thoroughly and urgently as possible, and the Office of Internal Oversight Services has already launched its investigation. As I have already indicated, the results of the investigation will be published in a report to the Secretary-General to ensure that there is transparency in the conduct of this investigation. As the Secretary-General also has indicated, this will be done in an expeditious manner.

There is another aspect to this problem, and that is to also look into remedial or preventive measures in order to prevent or minimize the problem. For that purpose, as Emergency Relief Coordinator, I have asked, as Chairman of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), for the establishment of a task force that will provide specific policy recommendations and desirable preventive or remedial measures to address the vulnerability of children and women. The task force, it is hoped, will come up with

its recommendations by early April. Those recommendations will include measures to be taken internally by each organization.

I will also ask the task force, within the IASC, to elaborate a code of conduct for all humanitarian professionals. We hope to be able to come up with some standardized code of conduct applicable to all professionals engaged in humanitarian activities, whether within the United Nations or outside — hopefully, also including non-governmental organizations in this respect. As I understand it, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations is already working on this issue for peacekeeping operations, and, naturally, we will be closely coordinating and cooperating with that Department on developing measures that need to be put in place to address this problem.

It was asked whether it might be necessary to look at this issue as one that is not confined only to West Africa but that could extend beyond it. The policy of zero tolerance laid down by the Secretary-General, of course, covers not just the allegations in West Africa, but applies to this issue anywhere in the world. In that light, the IASC members agreed on the need to assess, at a later stage, the underlying causes, including poverty and the misuse of power and influence by relief workers in West Africa and elsewhere. Naturally, we are concerned with the wider implications of this problem.

Very briefly, I should like to answer a question raised by the representative of Colombia on issues relating to access — especially in the context of the development of guidelines or manuals. We are indeed engaged in an exercise which, hopefully, will enable us to develop some meaningful guidelines or a manual which will be used in our negotiations to obtain access in the delivery of humanitarian assistance. To that end, an inter-agency process has already been initiated to produce guidelines that will be based on best practices for United Nations humanitarian field staff. The guidelines will provide practical steps on when, how and on what basis to engage or disengage with armed groups.

The agency staff concerned have just concluded a one-day retreat in Geneva to elaborate on the annotated outline, and they expect to hear more from experts from the International Committee of the Red Cross and from think tanks, and they will continue their efforts to arrive at some guidelines.

Regarding respect for international humanitarian law, I share the concerns expressed by the representative of Syria, with whom I had the great pleasure of working in the context of the Economic and Social Council, that the Geneva Convention and other standards of international human rights law must be more strictly observed. I should like to commend, in this regard, the untiring efforts that the International Committee of the Red Cross in particular has made over the past 50 years to urge respect for international humanitarian law. I believe that, in many cases, they have succeeded in achieving compliance. I would hope that the Council will continue and, where necessary, step up its efforts to promote compliance with the recognized standards of international humanitarian law around the world.

I wish to say a little about developing the road map, as I have indicated briefly, as part of our effort to take the aide-memoire out of the Security Council Chamber in New York to the broader stages and as part of our own training exercises. We intend to hold workshops and training sessions on the issue of protection of civilians, including practical application of the aide-memoire, for our staff in the field, government officials, academic institutions and practitioners and others. We intend to do this in Asia, Africa, America and other places in the coming months. In our work, we will try to mainstream protection issues further into decision-making and policy development.

I am sorry if I have not responded to all questions and requests for clarifications made, but I would like to thank you again, Sir, for the opportunity.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4493

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4493rd meeting

Friday, 15 March 2002, 12.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Kolby	(Norway)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Ngoh Ngoh
	China	Mr. Jiang Jiang
	Colombia	Mr. Franco
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Zoumanigui
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mauritius	Mr. Gokool
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Karev
	Singapore	Ms. Foo
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Ms. Connelly

Agenda

Protection of civilians in armed conflict

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

02-28791 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Protection of civilians in armed conflict

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council recalls its resolutions 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 on the protection of civilians in armed conflict and the letter of 21 June 2001 from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General on the protection of civilians in armed conflict (S/2001/614).

"The Security Council reaffirms its concern at the hardships borne by civilians during armed conflict and recognizes the consequent impact this has on durable peace, reconciliation and development, bearing in mind its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, and underlining the importance of taking measures aimed at conflict prevention and resolution.

"Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General of 8 September 1999 (S/1999/957) and of 30 March 2001 (S/2001/331) on the protection of civilians in armed conflict and welcoming the close cooperation with the Secretary-General in preparing the aide-memoire attached to this statement, the Security Council adopts the aide-memoire contained in the annex to the presidential statement as a means to facilitate its consideration of issues pertaining to protection of civilians. The Council further emphasizes the need, when considering ways to provide for the protection of civilians in armed conflict, to proceed on a case-by-case basis, taking into account the particular circumstances.

"The Security Council will review and update the contents of the aide-memoire as appropriate and will remain actively seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2002/6.

It was suggested during our discussions that the aide-memoire might need to be updated. Let me say that the innovative manner in which the aide-memoire was developed, through close cooperation between the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the members of the Council, might also usefully be utilized when we update it.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4494

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4494th meeting

Friday, 15 March 2002, 12.25 p.m.

New York

President	Mr. Kolby	(Norway)
Members	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Ngoh Ngoh
	China	Mr. Jiang Jiang
	Colombia	Mr. Franco
	France	Ms. D'Achon
	Guinea	Mr. Zoumanigui
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mauritius	Mr. Gokool
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Karev
	Singapore	Ms. Foo
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Ms. Connelly

Agenda

The situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia

Progress report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea (S/2002/245)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

02-28899 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia

Progress report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea (S/2002/245)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the progress report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea, document S/2002/245. Members of the Council also have before them document S/2002/266, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bulgaria, Cameroon, China, Colombia, France, Guinea, Ireland, Mauritius, Mexico, Norway, Russian Federation, Singapore, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1398 (2002).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4495

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4495th meeting

Tuesday, 19 March 2002, 4.40 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Kolby	(Norway)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Ngoh Ngoh
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Cheick Ahmed Camara
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mauritius	Mr. Jingree
	Mexico	Mr. de Alba
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Singapore	Mr. Lip Cheng How
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenblatt

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 18 March 2002 from the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2002/286)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

02-29356 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 18 March 2002 from the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council
(S/2002/286)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the request dated 18 March 2002 from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Council, document S/2002/286.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2002/290, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should also like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/2002/287, which contains the text of a letter dated 18 March 2002 from the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

I should like to draw attention to an addition to operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution. At the end of paragraph 4, add the following words: "and that all other parties also withdraw from locations they occupy in contravention of the Kampala and Harare disengagement plan".

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bulgaria, Cameroon, China, Colombia, France, Guinea, Ireland, Mauritius, Mexico, Norway, Russian Federation, Singapore, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1399 (2002).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4496

Security Council

Distr.: General
20 March 2002

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4496th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private in the Security Council Chamber at Headquarters on Wednesday, 20 March 2002, at 3.40 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record.

On 20 March 2002, the Security Council, pursuant to Annex II, Section A of resolution 1353 (2001), held its 4496th meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL).

The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Oluyemi Adeniji, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Sierra Leone and Head of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone. The members of the Council had a constructive exchange of views with representatives of participating troop-contributing countries.

02-29596 (E) 200302